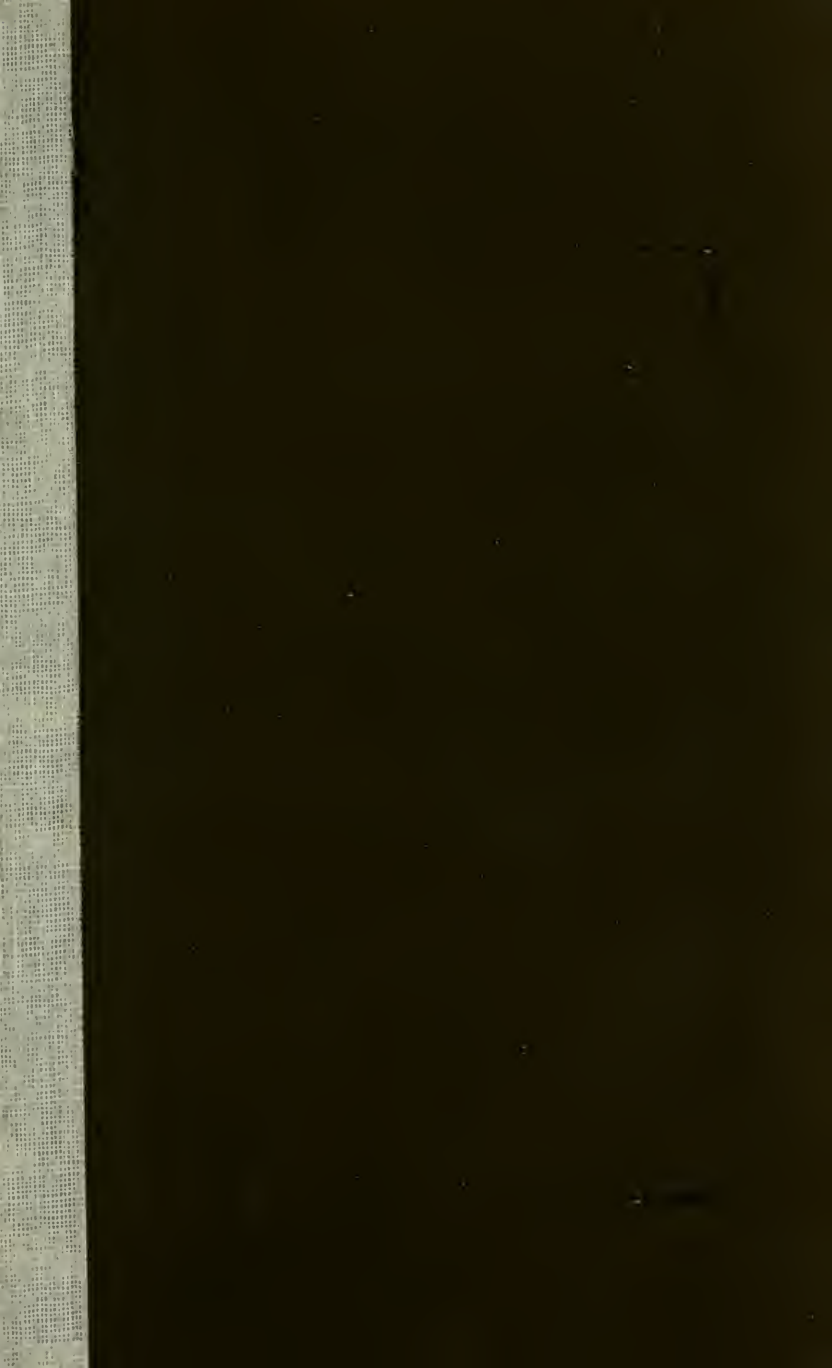
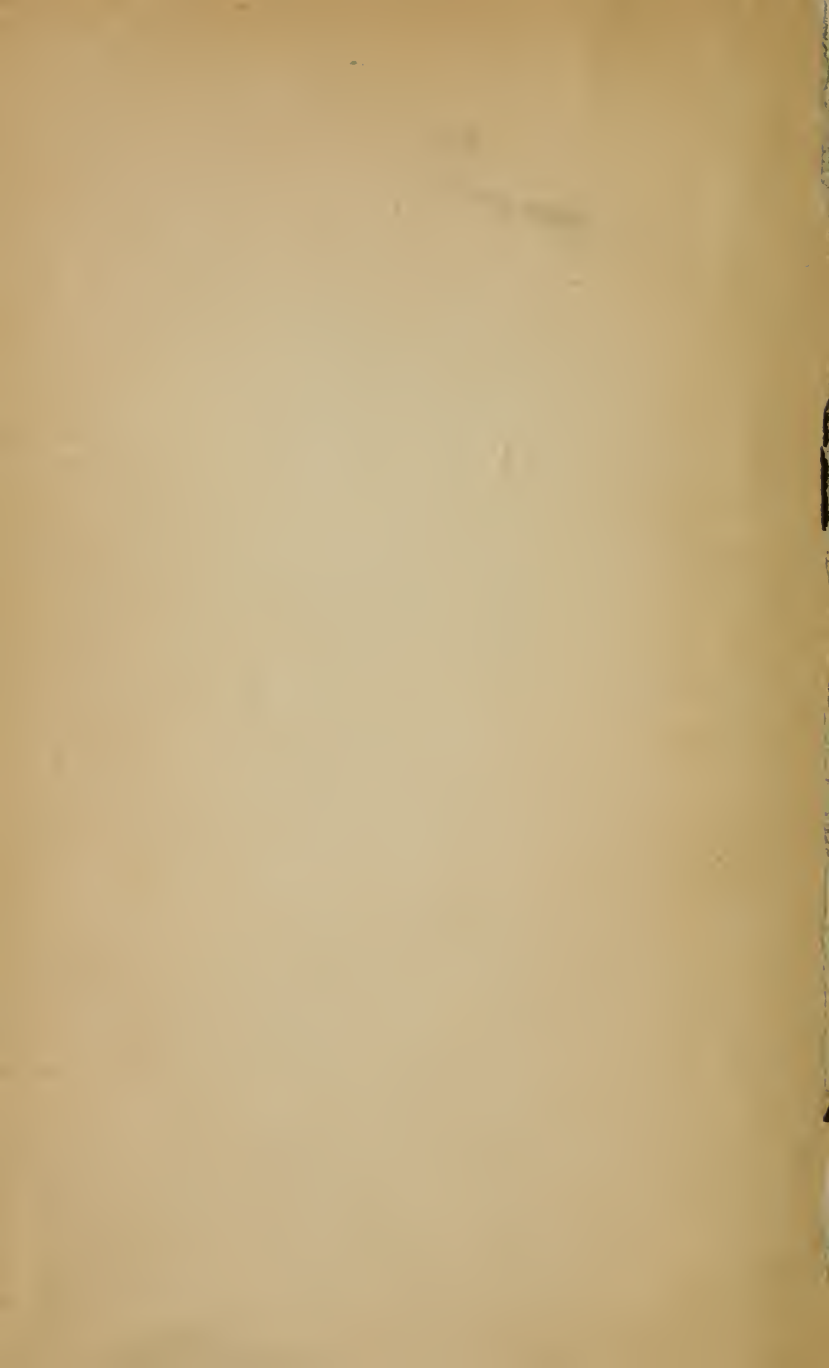




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OUTLINES OF HEBREW GRAMMAR.



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# OUTLINES

OF

# HEBREW GRAMMAR

BY

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REVISED BY THE AUTHOR, AND ANNOTATED BY THE TRANSLATOR

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WITH A LITHOGRAPHIC TABLE OF SEMITIC CHARACTERS

BY DR. J. EUTING.



181768  
3.7.23.

LEIPZIG:

F. A. BROCKHAUS.

1877.



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TO  
PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.,  
PROFESSOR IN UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK,  
THIS TRANSLATION IS RESPECTFULLY  
DEDICATED.



## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THIS little work does not appear as a rival of the excellent grammars of Green and Davidson. It is rather designed for students in comparative philology, and for those who have already made some progress in Hebrew.

Although so modest in size that it may be mistaken for an elementary treatise, it should perhaps rather be considered as the most scientific discussion of the Hebrew language which has yet been produced.

While it was suggested by Justus Olshausen's "Lehrbuch", it is not an epitome of that work, but a really independent production.

Starting with the hypothesis that the Hebrew is not the most ancient member of the Semitic family of languages, the author has derived all the Hebrew forms by means of comparative analysis, from a more ancient Semitic language, which is best represented by the Arabic.

Although a competent critic may differ from the author in some of his conclusions, he will still recognize the hand of a master, and will acknowledge that

the student may obtain a clearer conception of the Hebrew forms, by the diligent study of this book.

The English edition is perhaps superior to the German in the following particulars. 1) The author has thoroughly revised and improved the original text. 2) The paragraphs on the prose and metrical accents have been added by Prof. FRANZ DELITZSCH at the request of Prof. BICKELL. 3) A large table of Semitic characters, of which the Egyptian letters were furnished by Prof. EBERS, has been prepared by Dr. EUTING of Strassburg, an eminent authority in this department.

The notes which are marked with a star, the table of contents, and the indexes, which were lacking in the German edition, have been added by the translator.

In closing, the translator tenders his best thanks to Prof. BICKELL for his lively interest in the work, and to Prof. DELITZSCH for many valuable suggestions.

LEIPZIG, *January* 1877.

# CONTENTS.

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Translator's preface . . . . .	PAGE VII
--------------------------------	-------------

## I.

### HISTORY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AND WRITING.

#### 1. HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE.

SECTION

1. Division of the Semitic family of languages . . . . .	1
2. Their specific character . . . . .	1
3. Common origin of languages . . . . .	2
4. The Arabic more antique in form than the Hebrew . . . . .	3
5. Dialectical differences . . . . .	4
6. Lexical and grammatical archaisms of the Pentateuch . . . . .	5
7. Golden age of Hebrew literature . . . . .	6
8. Substitution of the Chaldee for the Hebrew . . . . .	7
9. Hebrew grammarians . . . . .	7

#### 2. HISTORY OF WRITING.

10. Origin of the Semitic characters . . . . .	9
11. Form of the Aramaic letters . . . . .	10
12. The square characters . . . . .	10
13. Bickell's transcription of the consonants . . . . .	11
14. The syllabic character of the Hebrew . . . . .	12
15. Development of the punctuation . . . . .	13
16. Tiberian and Assyrian system . . . . .	14
17. Bickell's transcription of the vowels . . . . .	15
18—20. Doctrine of the accents by Prof. Delitzsch . . . . .	15
21. Pausal heightening (lengthening) . . . . .	23

## II.

## PHONOLOGY.

## 1. CONSONANTS.

SECTION	PAGE
22. Classification of Hebrew consonants . . . . .	25
23. Origin of sibilants. Harder and smother sounds of Ayin and Cheth . . . . .	26
24. Rules for the aspiration of the <i>b, g, d, k, p, t</i> . . . . .	27
25—27. Transposition and doubling of consonants . . . . .	27
28—29. <i>Dagesh forte implicitum</i> and compensative length- ening . . . . .	29
30. A syllable can scarcely ever either begin or end in He- brew with two consonants . . . . .	30
31—34. Changes in the vowel consonants <i>y</i> and <i>v</i> . . . . .	30
35. Aphaeresis of <i>n</i> and <i>l</i> . . . . .	34
36. Consonantal and quiescent Aleph . . . . .	35

## 2. VOWELS.

37. Origin of the long vowels. Apocopation of the short final vowels . . . . .	36
38. Shortening of a long vowel which was in an originally closed syllable . . . . .	37
39. Divisions of Hebrew vowels . . . . .	37
40. Character of the originally long vowels . . . . .	38
41—49. Rules for the short vowels, and their application to <i>a, i,</i> and <i>u</i> . . . . .	38
50—51. No real diphthongs in Hebrew . . . . .	43
52. Auxiliary vowels . . . . .	44
53. Favorite vowels with the gutturals . . . . .	45
54—59. Half vowels . . . . .	46

## III.

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE FORMATION OF STEMS.

60. Origin of stems, nouns and verbs . . . . .	49
61. Suppression of a short vowel in primitive Semitic . . . . .	50
62. Transposition of <i>gatla, qitla, qutla</i> to <i>qtala, qtila, qtula</i>	50
63. <i>Qatala</i> the oldest form of the stem of trilateral roots	50

SECTION	PAGE
64. <i>Qatila</i> and <i>qatula</i> (Heb. <i>qātēl</i> and <i>qātōl</i> ) formed through the weakening of <i>a</i> to <i>i</i> or <i>u</i> . . . . .	51
65. <i>Qitala</i> , <i>qutala</i> . . . . .	51
66. Formation of the active <i>kal</i> participle . . . . .	51
67. The infinitive absolute, and passive participle <i>kal</i> . . . . .	52
68. The imperative, construct infinitive and future <i>kal</i> . . . . .	53
69. <i>Qtala</i> , <i>qtila</i> , and especially <i>qatla</i> , <i>qilla</i> , <i>qutla</i> as fundamental forms of the nomn . . . . .	53
70—71. The plurals of <i>qatla</i> , <i>qilla</i> , <i>qutla</i> from <i>qatala</i> , <i>qitala</i> , <i>qutala</i> . . . . .	55
72. Monosyllables which have lost the third consonant . . . . .	56
73. Reduplicated forms . . . . .	56
74. Fundamental form of the <i>piel</i> . . . . .	57
75—77. The prefixes of the noun and verb <i>ha</i> , <i>hin</i> ( <i>na</i> ) and <i>hit</i> . . . . .	58
78. The prefix <i>ma</i> belongs only to the nominal formation . . . . .	59
79. Prefixes <i>ya</i> and <i>ta</i> . . . . .	60
80. The indefinite ending <i>ma</i> , more frequently <i>na</i> . . . . .	60
81. Patronymics and abstracts . . . . .	61

## IV.

## DOCTRINE OF THE FORMATION OF WORDS.

## 1. PRONOMINAL INFLECTION.

82. Personal pronouns . . . . .	62
83. Demonstratives . . . . .	63
84. Relative, interrogative and indefinite . . . . .	64

## 2. DECLENSION.

85. Declension by means of three affixes . . . . .	64
86. The definite <i>mas. accus. sing.</i> represents the stem . . . . .	65
87—88. The nominative ending <i>u</i> and the <i>gen. i</i> . . . . .	66
89—90. Formation of the plural . . . . .	67
91. The indefinite form assumes the suffix <i>ma</i> . . . . .	68
92. Feminine formation . . . . .	68
93—94. Feminine plural and dual . . . . .	70
95—97. Distinction between the <i>status absolutus</i> and <i>constructus</i> . . . . .	71
98. Volatilization in an open pretonic syllable . . . . .	73

SECTION	PAGE
99. Exchange of stems (Metaplasm) . . . . .	74
100. Euphonic doubling . . . . .	74
101. Elision of final <i>ay</i> before the endings of the feminine, the plural and the suffixes . . . . .	75
102. The endings <i>iyja</i> and <i>uyja</i> . . . . .	75
103—104. The suffixes alone, and in combination with nouns . . . . .	76
105—106. Changes before suffixes . . . . .	77
107. Unusual forms of declension. . . . .	79
108—109. Numerals . . . . .	81

### 3. CONJUGATION.

110. Formation of the different numbers and persons of the perfect kal . . . . .	82
111. <i>Vav consecutivum</i> . . . . .	83
112—113. Fundamental form of the constr. infin., imper. and fut. . . . .	84
114. Formation of the future. . . . .	85
115. The cohortative . . . . .	87
116. The infinitive absolute and active participle . . . .	88
117. Niphal. . . . .	88
118—119. Piel and pual. . . . .	89
120—121. Hiphil and hophal . . . . .	90
122. Quadrilaterals . . . . .	91
123—124. Verbs <i>primae gutturalis</i> , <i>primae Aleph</i> . . . .	92
125. Verbs <i>mediae gutturalis</i> . . . . .	93
125—127. Verbs <i>tertiæ gutturalis</i> and <i>tertiæ Aleph</i> . .	94
128. Verbs <i>primae nun</i> . . . . .	95
129. Verbs <i>mediae geminatae</i> . . . . .	95
130—131. The niphal and hiphil of the verbs <i>mediae ge-</i> <i>minatae</i> . . . . .	96
132. The poel, poal, and hitpoel . . . . .	97
133—134. Verbs <i>primae rav</i> and <i>yod</i> . . . . .	98
135—136. Verbs <i>mediae rav</i> and <i>yod</i> . . . . .	99
136—138. Verbs <i>tertiæ rav</i> ( <i>yod</i> ) . . . . .	100
139—141. Suffixes . . . . .	102
142—145. Inflection of particles . . . . .	103



## V.

## SYNTAX.

SECTION	PAGE
146. The Status constructus . . . . .	108
147. Position and comparison of the adjective . . . . .	108
148. The accusative . . . . .	108
149. The relative . . . . .	109
150. Numerals . . . . .	109
151. Tenses. . . . .	109
152. Continuation of a chain of thought. . . . .	110 <i>/n/u</i>
153. The jussive and the cohortative . . . . .	110 <i>/s</i>
154. The infinitive absolute . . . . .	111
155. Interrogative sentences . . . . .	111
Reading exercises . . . . .	112
Paradigm of the regular verb. . . . .	115—120
INDEXES:	
1. Names . . . . .	121
2. Subjects . . . . .	123
3. Hebrew words . . . . .	128



## I.

# HISTORY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AND WRITING.

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### 1. HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE.

§. 1. *The Semitic family of languages*, which is thus named because all the descendants of Shem originally belonged to it, may be divided into three main branches: 1) *Arabic* together with Himyaric and Ethiopic; 2) *Aramaic*, which is indigenous to Syria, Mesopotamia and Babylon, including Syriac, Mandaic, Chaldee and Samaritan; 3) *Hebrew* with Phoenician or Canaanitic. The position of the unquestionably Semitic Assyrian of the cuneiform inscriptions and of the so-called half Semitic in Africa has not yet been definitely determined. All the Semitic languages are now dead except the Arabic, the Amharic and the Tigré, which are cognate with the old Ethiopic, Geez, and the remnants of the modern Syriac dialects in Kurdistan and the Anti-Lebanon.

✓ EXCEPT HEBREW

§. 2. The specific character of the present form of the Semitic family of languages consists in the disyllabic nature of the roots, their apparently merely ideal and vowelless existence, and in the expression of

different shades of thought through internal inflection, that is through a change of the radical vowels, or the doubling of the radical consonants. This internal inflection however is merely apparent. Since it is a secondary, mechanical phenomenon which has arisen through vocal laws. Hence in itself it has nothing to do with the modification of the idea.<sup>1</sup> The dissyllabic roots arose from the original monosyllable in a pre-historic age, before there was any sharp discrimination between the noun and the verb, through reduplication, addition of suffixes, insertion of vowels and in other ways. This is indicated by the pronominal roots; the conjugation *pilpel*, e. g. *כִּלְכֵּל* *kilkél*, which was originally *kalkala* from the root *כ.ו.ל*; and through the kindred signification of many roots which have two consonants in common.

§. 3. It follows from the preceding paragraph, that in the manner of formation<sup>2</sup>, there was originally

<sup>1</sup> The seeming arguments for an internal inflection are very much weakened when we compare the Hebrew with the Arabic forms, e. g. *קָטַל* *qātál*, *קִטְּלֵל* *qittél*, *הִקְטִיל* *hiqtíl*, Arabic *qatala*, *qattala*, *'aqtala*. Another class is shown even by parallel Hebrew forms to be a later formation, e. g. the participle *קִטְּלֵל* *qôttél*, from *qâtíl* in the intransitive verbs and the mediac *יָ*, has the same form as the third sing. masc. of the perfect, compare *מָלַךְ* *mālē'*, from *mali'*, *קָם* *qám* from *qavam*. The doubling of the consonant is either merely euphonic or has arisen from the original reduplication of the root. Several vowel changes indeed (e. g. in the passive) have not yet been explained, but judging from the analogy of the apparently internally inflected German, in which all the variations of the root can be mechanically explained, this is due to our unfamiliarity with the old Semitic forms.

<sup>2</sup> Essentially the same principles underly the formation of all the different languages. Isolation, agglutination and inflection

no difference between the Semitic and the other families of languages, and that nothing prevents the assumption of a common origin. Moreover a nearer relationship of the Semitic with the Indo-Germanic and Egyptian is unmistakable, although the laws for the substitutions of sounds do not yet seem to be established with absolute certainty.<sup>1</sup>

§. 4. Although the Hebrew has a more ancient literature than any of the Semitic family, yet other members of that family have preserved a more antique form. A large proportion of the dentals, which have all been retained in Aramaic, has been in Arabic partially, and in Hebrew as well as in Ethiopic and Assyrian entirely, changed to sibilants so that the Aramaic *d* (ד), *t* (ט), *t* (צ) frequently correspond to the Arabic

do not exclude each other but are rather to be considered as successive stages in the development of language. Originally there were only monosyllabic roots (*isolation*), which at first were human echoes of an audible action, and with which were connected other sensuous significations by *enallage sensuum* and supersensuous ones by analogy. Some roots gradually became affixes (*agglutination*) through connection with others under a common accent. Then through the purely mechanical interaction of the roots and affixes upon each other, and other vocal laws, which were generally connected with the accentuation, an apparent change of the root itself arose (*internal inflection*). *Inflection is simply the joining together of roots, hence the symbolism of sound only obtains in the formation of roots, but never in the inflection.* The same principles explain other supposed Semitic peculiarities, e. g. the occurrence of pronominal suffixes (which are also found in the Indo-Germanic Persian), and prefixes (just as *ego sum* and *sum ego* are one and the same).

<sup>1</sup> \*For the reciprocal relation of the Indo-Germanic and Semitic family see Friedrich Delitzsch's "Studien über Indogermanisch-Semitische Wurzelverwandschaft", Leipzig 1873.

$d\zeta$  (ד),  $ts$  (צ),  $t\zeta$  (ץ), Hebrew  $z$  (ז),  $\check{s}$  (שׁ),  $\zeta$  (ז). The short vowels in Hebrew are commonly heightened in the accented syllable, and in the first open syllable preceding the accent, while on the contrary they vanish from the second open syllable preceding the accent leaving only a *shēva* behind them. The vowel consonant  $v$  is very frequently transformed to  $y$  without the influence of an  $i$ . The short vowels are often rejected at the end of a word, hence the insertion of an auxiliary vowel is often occasioned. The earlier wealth of forms has, in consequence of the falling away of the final vowels, and the disappearance of many varieties of inflection, only partially maintained its place. In all these respects, especially in its vocalization, the Arabic is the more ancient language, since it is determined by only a few vocal laws, especially those which concern the vowel consonants, almost all of which existed already in the primitive Semitic.

§. 5. With reference to dialectical differences only this is certain that the Ephraimites pronounced  $\check{s}$  (שׁ) like  $s$  (ס) Jud. xii, 6. Böttcher's<sup>1</sup> discovery of three provincial dialects *Ephraimitic*, *Judaic* and *Simconitic* in the text of the Old Testament is not satisfactorily established. — On the other hand the poetry is distinguished from the prose of the Scriptures as follows; 1) through the rhythmical parallelism of the two members of each verse, 2) partially through the union of verses into strophes, 3) linguistically through the use of peculiar designations, especially *epitheta ornantia* e. g. בְּנֵי-יַחַץ *bēnē šah(a)ṣ*, *sons of pride*, is equivalent to *beasts of prey*, Job. xxviii, 8; xli, 26, 4) through fuller

<sup>1</sup> \*"Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache", Leipzig 1866, I, §. 28—37.

unapocopated or uncontracted forms. Compare אֶל-עַל 'el, עַל 'al, poetic אֶלְעִי 'élé', אֶלְעִי 'älé', from the earlier אֵילַי 'ilay, 'alay, further the suffixes of the 3. plural masc. in בָּנוּ, mō, instead of בָּמ, -m, etc.

§. 6. The language of the oldest Mosaic period i. e. in the Pentateuch, when compared with that of a later age, exhibits lexical as well as grammatical archaisms. The use of the masculine form הוּא hu' instead of the feminine הִיא hi' is especially noticeable. The former is employed in the Pentateuch one hundred and ninety five times, while the latter occurs only eleven times. In the same way the masculine form נָעַר na'(a)r is used instead of the feminine נָעֲרָה na'(ä)rā with only one exception, Deut. xxii, 19. The pronouns הַלְלוּהָ hallāzā instead of the later form הָלְלוּ hallāz, and the apocopated form הָלְלוּ הָאֱלֹהִים hā'ellā occur only in the Pentateuch. There are masculine infinitives from *tertiæ vav* and *yodh* roots, as אָסֹף 'āsó', Gen. i, 20, רָאָה rē'ó', Gen. xlviii, 11, instead of אָסֹף 'āsó' רָאוּהָ rē'ó' רָאוּהָ; regular strong forms נָתַתְּ nētint for תָּתַתְּ tēt = *titt*, *nētint*, Numb. xx, 21; Gen. xxxviii, 9, *fuller endings* e. g. אֵין for *û* in the plural of the perfect, Deut. viii, 3, 16, and in the imperfect where it occurs one hundred and five times<sup>1</sup>; *harder sounds* e. g. צָהַק ṣāhāq which occurs twelve times in the Pentateuch and only once elsewhere instead of the later softer form צָהַק ṣāhāq; *defective modes of writing*, e. g. מ for *im*,

<sup>1</sup> \* Compare Ewald, "Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache" (Göttingen 1870), §. 502b. Although this form of the imperfect is not confined to the Pentateuch, yet it is especially frequent there. See Keil, "Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen und apokryphischen Schriften des Alten Testaments" Frankfurt a. M. 1873, p. 44.

ה for *ôth*, in the imperfect נ for *nā*<sup>1</sup>, provided this is not to be explained as a remnant of an old kind of Aramaic formation; unusual formations of stems, e. g. יקום *yěqúm*, Gen. vii, 4, 23; and forms which subsequently are only used in poetry e. g. the case-endings *ô*, as חַיְהִי־וְיִהְיֶה הַיְיֹם־אֵרֶץ Gen. i, 24, and יִהְיֶה יוֹם הַיְיֹם־אֵרֶץ Gen. xxxi, 39, compare §. 87—88; the suffix of the third masc. sing. יְהִי *é-hû*, לְמִינֵהוּ *lěmíně-hû* Gen. i, 12, which is another form for *ô* etc.

§. 7. The golden age of Hebrew literature was during the period of David and Solomon after the middle of the eleventh, and of Isaiah during the eighth century. The decline of the Hebrew language begins after the age of Jeremiah and is characterized as follows. 1) The orthographical system is changed. The *scriptio plena* is more frequently employed with merely heightened vowels, and a phonetic rather than an etymologic manner of writing is used. 2) Later unorganic forms appear e. g. the suffixes of the 2. fem. plur. כְּנָה *-khāna* Ez. xiii, 20; xxiii, 48 ff.; of the 3. fem. plur. הָנָה *hāna* Ez. i, 11, compare §. 42 and הֵנָה *ā-hěnā* 1 K. vii, 37. 3) There is a strong infusion of Aramaisms, which were hitherto confined almost exclusively to the poetical style, e. g. compare a) Chaldee forms of the infinitive as מַדְדִּי *maddî* for דַּדְּתִי *dā'(a)* 2 Chron. i, 10, בַּקָּשָׁה *baqqāšā* for בַּקָּשׁ *baqqēš* Esther v, 8; הַצְּלָה *haççālā* for הַצִּיל *haççīl* Esth. iv, 14; b) pronouns and suffixes of the second fem. sing. of which the final sound is *î* e. g. אַתִּי *'aty* for אַתְּ *'at* Jerem. xi, 15, יְחִי *χî* for

<sup>1</sup> \*Compare Gesenius, "Hebräische Grammatik" (herausgegeben von C. Rödiger, Leipzig 1872), §. 104, 3, where it is remarked, that in the *Pentateuch* simply נ *nā* often stands for הָ *nā* especially after *vav consecutivum* e. g. Ex. i, 18, 19; vx, 20.



תִּי- עַל; e) suffixes of the third masc. sing. to the plural תִּי הִי *ô'-hî* instead of תִּי אֵי *âv* Ps. cxvi, 12; d) Ethpacl for the Hithpacl 2 Chron. xx, 35; e) plurals in *în* instead of *îm*; f) many abstract substantive formations etc.

§. 8. The extinction of the Hebrew and the substitution of the Chaldee in its place is due to the Babylonian captivity. This is confirmed by the use of the Chaldee in Daniel<sup>1</sup>, and the original author who according to Esra v, 4 lived at the end of the sixth century, by the Aramaic composition of the Persian edicts to the Jews, and by Nehem. viii, 8; compare Megilla<sup>2</sup> 3<sup>a</sup> and Nedarim<sup>3</sup> 37<sup>b</sup>. The fact that the writers after the captivity use better Hebrew than those who wrote shortly before it, or during the exile proves that they were writing in a dead language and sought to adapt themselves to classical models. — *The new Hebrew* of the Mishna, the Midrashim, and the rabbinical literature is merely a later artificial development.

§. 9. The grammatical treatment of the Hebrew dates from the tenth century. It began with the rabbinical and Karaitic Jews in the Orient and in Spain, with Saadya († 942), Abul-Walid († about 1030), Aben Ezra († 1167); more particularly however in the rest of Europe after the beginning of the twelfth century, with Joseph, Moses and David Kimchi, who flourished about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and Elias Levita († 1549). The study of Hebrew was introduced among the Christians after the thirteenth century, Raimundus

<sup>1</sup> \*Chapters ii, 4—vii of Daniel and iv, 8—vi, 18 of Esra are written in Chaldee.

<sup>2</sup> \*The treatise in the Talmud which bears this name treats of the Purim festival and the reading of the book of Esther.

<sup>3</sup> \*Nedarim considers the different kind of vows and their obligatory force.

Martini († after 1286), Nicolaus Lyranus († 1340), Perez di Valencia († 1491). The first grammars were by Anton de Lebrija († 1544) and by John Reuchlin († 1522). The science of the Hebrew language in the sixteenth century was entirely dependent upon rabbinical instruction. In the seventeenth century although it was pursued with erudition it was unfruitful. Every interest was made subservient to the punctuation, the primitive existence and absolute correctness of which was demanded in the interest of the sufficiency and perspicuity of the Bible (John Buxtorf, senior). It was customary to explain the linguistic phenomena through as unhistorical a system as that of the *tres morae*<sup>1</sup> (Alting † 1697, Danz † 1727). About the beginning of the eighteenth century Alb. Schultens († 1750) through the comparative study of the Arabic paved the way for a better method. Towards the end of the same century such grammarians as Vater († 1826) and Jahn († 1816) sought to emancipate themselves from the rabbinical tradition and to pursue the grammar with more simplicity and taste. Against this tendency to arbitrariness and a contempt for detailed examinations, Gesenius († 1842) established the empirical facts of the language, and involuntarily became an apologist for the Jewish tradition. Ewald († 1875) indicated the higher ends of a scientific treatment of the language, but Justus Ols-haus n first succeeded by the consistent use of the historico-critical and comparative method in tracing back the linguistic phenomena to their origin. Böttcher's († 1863) great work<sup>2</sup> is valuable as a collection of materials but in other respects it is a step backwards.

<sup>1</sup> \*See Gesenius, "Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache", 123.

<sup>2</sup> \*"Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache, nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben und mit ausführlichen Registern versehen von J. Mühlau", 2 Bde., Leipzig 1866—68.

## 2. HISTORY OF WRITING.

§. 10. The Semitic characters were not invented<sup>1</sup> by the Phoenicians, but arose from the Hieratic forms of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, from which all the written phonetic systems have arisen through the medium of the Semitic letters with the exception of the Japanese syllabic signs, and the cuneiform characters<sup>2</sup> (Lenormant<sup>3</sup>, Lauth<sup>4</sup>). Others admit only an indirect derivation. They hold that the Shemites transferred the acrophonic<sup>5</sup> principle of the hieroglyphics to their own language, but a comparison of the letters

<sup>1</sup> The art of writing was never invented at all, but has constantly arisen from the drawings of objects, which have gradually become the designation of the sound with which the language indicated the object, and finally that of the initial element of this sound. The picture of a mouth at first represented hieroglyphically the notion *mouth*, then the sound *ro*, which in Egyptian is equivalent to *mouth*, and finally the letter *r*. The Mexican and essentially also the Chinese system of writing are based entirely upon the ideographic principle. The cuneiform art of writing, which was transferred by a Turanian people to the Assyrians and the Persians, and the Egyptian hieroglyphics associate the ideographic with the phonetic principle, yet in such a way that the latter always predominates.

<sup>2</sup> \*See Mr. Joachim Menant, "Le Syllabaire Assyrien. Exposé des éléments du système phonétique de l'écriture anarienne" (Première partie, Paris 1860. Seconde partie, 1873).

<sup>3</sup> See his "Introduction à un mémoire sur la propagation de l'alphabet phénicien" Paris 1866.

<sup>4</sup> See the "Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften" (1867), S. 84—124.

<sup>5</sup> \*That is the designation of the letter through the picture of an object beginning with the same sound as the letter was to represent, compare the origin of *b* in the table.

in the table indicates that they have been directly borrowed.

§. 11. Originally all the members of the Semitic family used the old so-called Phœnician system of writing<sup>1</sup>, which was employed before the sixth century in Nineveh and Babylon together with the cuneiform characters. Since that time the Aramaic letters have been formed in a peculiar manner, especially through the opening of the heads of כ, ד, ז, ט, e. g. upon the talent of Abydos<sup>2</sup>, which represents the figure of a lion. This appears more plainly upon the coins and seals of the Persian satraps of anterior Asia, and still more evidently in the Aramaic inscriptions and papyrus from Egypt. At a later period the shaft, in several letters, is bent towards the left in order to render a connection possible with what follows. Thus during the last centuries before Christ several peculiar kinds of writing were gradually developed, of which the *Palmyrenian* as the nearest source of the Hebrew square characters possesses the greatest interest for us.

§. 12. Among the Jews there are two different kinds of writing. The older which is still found upon cut<sup>3</sup> stones and the coins of the Machabees (even upon those of Bar-Cochba<sup>4</sup> A. D. 132) is an antique Phœ-

<sup>1</sup> \*By far the oldest example of this kind of writing would be the inscription of the Moabite king, Mesa, which dates from the beginning of the ninth century before Christ. Doubts have however been recently raised in regard to its genuineness.

<sup>2</sup> \*See de Vogué, "Mélanges d'archéologie Orientale", Paris 1868, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> The Israelitic seals, found at Nineveh, must be older than the captivity, comp. Levy, "Siegel und Gemmen", Breslau 1869.

<sup>4</sup> \*See Madden's "History of Jewish coinage", London 1862, p. 203 ff.

nician and essentially identical with the Samaritan. The present so-called square characters occur after 176 B. C. upon several inscriptions of the second and first centuries, which have been discovered by De Vogué.<sup>1</sup> They have evidently arisen from the Palmyrenian, and are the result not of a gradual change in the characters (Kopp<sup>2</sup>, Hupfeld<sup>3</sup>), but of an interchange of the old (Phoenician) with the new Aramaic (especially Palmyrenian), which at the latest has taken place since the second century before Christ. For some time both systems were in use side by side until at last the older was entirely forgotten. There is now no need of refuting the opinion that the *quadrata* has been the sacred character of the Hebrews from the beginning. At the same time its derivation from the Babylonian (Talmud<sup>4</sup> Origen<sup>5</sup>, Jerome<sup>6</sup>, Bleek<sup>7</sup>) is rendered impossible by reason of its near relationship to the Palmyrenian characters. The ligatures which were customary in the older quadrate writing have been relinquished, on the other hand the upper blocks upon the letters א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת (שצפנטזח) have been introduced.

§. 13. We transcribe the Hebrew consonants as

<sup>1</sup> See the "Revue archéologique" (1864), IX, 200.

<sup>2</sup> \*See Kopp's († 1834) "Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit", II, 51 ff. and 87 ff.

<sup>3</sup> \*Herman Hupfeld († 1866) in the "Studien und Kritiken" (1830), S. 256 ff. and in his "Ausführliche hebräische Grammatik" Marburg 1841, I, 39.

<sup>4</sup> \*Bab. Sanhedrin 21<sup>b</sup>. Jer. Megilla I. Halacha 9.

<sup>5</sup> \*Origenis Hexapla, I, 86 ed. Montf.

<sup>6</sup> \*In the beginning of his Prologus Galeatus.

<sup>7</sup> \*See his Einleitung.

follows: א ' ; ב *b*, β<sup>1</sup>; ג *g*, γ; ד *d*, δ; ה *h*; ו *v*; ז *z*; ח *h*; ט *t*; י *y*<sup>2</sup>; כ *k*, χ; ל *l*; מ *m*; נ *n*; ס *s*; ע ' ; פ *p*, φ; צ *ç*; ק *q*; ר *r*; ש *š*, ś; ת *t*, ð. A diacritical point discriminates שֵׁ *š* from שׁ *š*. While the aspirated pronunciation of the בגדכפה is indicated only exceptionally by Raphe (בֵּ) the unaspirated pronunciation is shown by an internal point in the letters (*Dāgeš lene*). A final ה is only a sign for a final vowel, and is therefore to be omitted in the transcription unless its character as a consonant is fixed by an internal point (*Mappik*). The reduplication is also indicated by an internal point (*Dāgeš forte*). The letters כ פ נ מ have a special form at the end of a word ק ף ך ם ן ף ץ (partially in the old square Palmyrenian and Hauranian writing). The letters א ה ל ה א can be widened at the end of a line so as to avoid the division of words. — The letters also serve as numerals, e. g. א—ט = 1—9, י—צ = 10—90, ק—ה = 100—400, ך ם ן ף ץ = 500—900, א again = 1000 etc., the combinations יה, יי are avoided out of reverence for the name יהוה and יו, יז are used instead.

§. 14. The Semitic writing still retains its original syllabic character in this respect that it is vowelless. This principle which was strictly maintained in the Phœnician was at an early period so far modified in Hebrew that ו become the substitute for *û* (and *ô* which was originally *av* or *â*), and י for *î* (and *ê*, *â* which have arisen from *ay*). This is called *scriptio plena*. The vowel *â* was only indicated at the end of a word by ה, which could also indicate the other long and

<sup>1</sup> \*The aspirated pronunciation of the בגדכפה is represented by the Greek letters β, γ, δ, χ, φ, ð.

<sup>2</sup> \*At the end of a syllable *Yôð* should be pronounced like final *j* in German, הַי *haj*, גֹּי *gôj* are not diphthongs.

heightened<sup>1</sup> vowels (e. g. אֲ, אָ, אִ) except *i* and *u*. Thus the short vowels were entirely unindicated, the long vowels were in many cases undetermined, and even the value of the vowels themselves was doubtful, since the vowel letters were at the same time consonants. Therefore after the dying out of the language an urgent necessity impelled to a system of punctuation which was gradually developed.

§. 15. The development of the punctuation has probably passed through the following stages. 1) Originally a diacritic sign designated the more unusual, less simple form (Samaritan diacritic line). 2) Another sign came into use which expressed the opposite of the former. Thus in Syriac the point beneath the letter indicated the simple monosyllabic form of the verb, e. g. *pəʿal*, and that of monosyllabic nouns like *dîn*, *səḫar*; on the other hand that above the letter, the less simple, unexpected, generally dissyllabic form either with or without the reduplication of the second radical, e. g. *pāʿel*, *pāʿel*, and nouns with the reduplication of the second radical, as *dayyân*. In this way the older sign by an easy transition came to indicate a vowel (especially *a*), the reduplication, or the non-aspiration, while the later sign indicated successively a *Šəvā* and then the vowel *i* as the opposite of *a* or the aspirated pronunciation; but *u* was most frequently indicated by the vowel consonant. *The simpler basis*, which preceded the Palestinean and Babylonian system of punctuation must have been of the same sort, comp.

§. 16. Both possess only two signs in common *Dāreš* and *Rāqē* (or *Īlāṭē*, which also serves as *Šəvā*). The former corresponds to the Syriac point above the letter (*Kushāi*) and Arabic *a*, the latter to the one beneath

<sup>1</sup> \* Comp. §§. 39, 42.

it (*Rukkâch*) and the Arabic *i*. 3) The two (or with *u* three) fundamental vowels were divided through repeated distinctions into their different shades of sound. This is still evident in Syriac, where at a later period the two simple points were increased through the introduction of double points to eight; it is not so evident however in Hebrew by reason of our unfamiliarity with the history of the punctuation.

§. 16. Since neither Jerome nor the Talmud evince any knowledge of the punctuation, the assumption of its originality is an error, which requires no refutation. Still the development of the vowel signs must have begun soon after the close of the Talmud.<sup>1</sup> Our present and only current punctuation conforms to the Tiberian or Palestinian system. Besides this there was a Babylonian, or Assyrian system, which was discovered in 1839, in the Crimea, in a manuscript which dates from the year 916.<sup>2</sup> It has only six vowels, Dāyeš and Rāφe (*Hätēφ*). In an unaccented closed syllable the Rāφe is placed underneath, in an unaccented acute syllable<sup>3</sup> over the vowel, on account of which the Mēϣeγ becomes superfluous (§. 18). Instead of Paṣah with Hätēφ written underneath Çere is employed according to the Arabic pronunciation. All the signs stand over the consonants.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> \*According to Emanuel Deutsch the so-called Jerusalem Gemara was redacted at Tiberias about 390 A. D. and the Babylonian at Sora 365—427 A. D. The codex of the latter however was not closed until the end of the fifth century A. D. See his *Literary Remains*, London 1874, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> \*Dr. Hermann Strack of Berlin edited a facsimile of this entire manuscript, Petropoli 1875.

<sup>3</sup> An acute syllable is one which ends in a doubled consonant.

<sup>4</sup> \*S. Pinsker, "Einleitung in das babylonisch-hebräische Punktationssystem", Wien 1863. See also the back of the last leaf of Strack's "Hosca et Joel".



§. 17. Our vowel system may be transcribed as follows:  $\overline{\text{á}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{ā}}$ ;  $\text{a}$ ;  $\overline{\text{é}}$ ;  $\overline{\text{ē}}$ ;  $\overline{\text{â}}$ ;  $\overline{\text{e}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{ū}}$ ;  $\overline{\text{î}}$ ;  $\text{i}$ ;  $\text{ó}$ ;  $\text{ō}$ ;  $\overline{\text{o}}$ ;  $\text{u}$ ;  $\overline{\text{u}}$ . The vowels which are undesignated are short. Those above which a short dash is written are heightened and those written with a circumflex are originally long.  $\overline{\text{Šěvā}}$   $\overline{\text{}}$  is used either to indicate a vowelless letter ( $\overline{\text{Šěvā quiescens}}$ ) or a half vowel  $\overline{\text{ě}}$  ( $\overline{\text{Šěvā mobile}}$ ); the latter appears in compounds as  $\overline{\text{Hāṭē}}$   $\overline{\text{paṣaḥ}}$   $\overline{\text{ă}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{Hāṭē}}$   $\overline{\text{sěḡól}}$   $\overline{\text{ě}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{Hāṭē}}$   $\overline{\text{qāmeṣ}}$   $\overline{\text{ö}}$ . All the vowels are placed underneath except  $\overline{\text{Šūreq}}$ , which stands in its consonant, and  $\overline{\text{Hōlem}}$  which stands above and behind the consonant to which it belongs. The concurrence of  $\overline{\text{Hōlem}}$  with the point of  $\overline{\text{w}}$  is indicated by only one point. A  $\overline{\text{Paṣaḥ}}$  which stands under a final consonant ( $\overline{\text{Paṣaḥ furtivum}}$ ) is pronounced before it. We indicate it, as in general all assistant vowels, which first entered the Hebrew in order to facilitate the pronunciation, by brackets.

§. 18. The accentuation<sup>1</sup> stands in the closest connection with the vocalization. Even the Talmud demands a discriminating<sup>2</sup> reading, and a melodious delivery.<sup>3</sup> The accentuation serves this double purpose, and appears in the post-talmudic age at the same time with the vocalization. The accents are 1) *musical notes*, which indicate how each word is to be sung. They dispose the verse as a rhythmical whole, according to aesthetic laws, especially of equilibrium. They are 2) *signs of interpunctuation*, which separate or unite the

<sup>1</sup> \*The §. 18—20 have been furnished by Prof. Franz Delitzsch, at the request of Prof. Bickell.

<sup>2</sup> Megilla 3<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Megilla 32<sup>a</sup>.



syllables whose vowel is only an auxiliary e. g. כָּפֶר *séφ(e)r*, *liber*, יֵגַל *yíγ(e)l* *emigrabit*; 2) the old accusative ending *ā* of the noun e. g. לַיְלָה *láylā* *noctu*, and the cohortative *ā* in future and imperative, but only, when a long vowel precedes, e. g. בִּינָה *bí'nā*, נִשְׁלִיכָה *naš-lí'χā*; 3) all the personal suffixes, except *-kém*, *-kén*, *-hém*, *-hén*, *-í'*, *-ó'* (because it is contracted out of *á-hú*) and *-kú*; this last suffix however remains unaccented after a long vowel, in pausa and in the energetic future; 4) the final syllables of several verbal forms, viz. the 1. sing., 1. plur. and 2. sing. masc. of the perfect, the 2. and 3. fem. plur. of the imperat. and future; 5) the final syllables of certain other forms (viz. 3. fem. sing. and 3. plur. in the perfect, 2. fem. sing. and 2. masc. plur. in the imperative, 2. fem. sing. and 2. and 3. masc. plur. in the future) of the verbs *mediae geminatae* and of the verbs *mediae v, y*, as well as in the *hi'φîl* in the regular verb; 6) the final syllable of the historical mode, *modus consecutivus*, in which the tone frequently falls back upon the penultima. Moreover the accentuation shows that this retrogression occurs not unfrequently in other cases according to strictly rhythmical laws, e. g. when a word with the primary accent upon its first syllable immediately follows a word with the accent upon the last as לֵךְ עִשָּׂה לֹ' *'ásā ló'* Gen. ix, 24, לֵךְ וְהָיִיתָ עִמָּי *vihëyít'ém lí'* Ex. xix, 5, but not when the first word ends in a closed syllable with *ó*, *ú* or *í*. This legal retrogression of the tone contributes very much to heighten the euphony of the language through the diversification of the rhythm. Our grammarians hold that in Hebrew the antepenult never receives the primary accent. There are however circumstances which occasion the retrogression of the primary accent as far as the antepenult, e. g. נֶעְמָו מֹדֵי *né'(e)rëmú móy(i)m* Ex. xv, 8.

§. 19. The accents, as signs of interpunctuation are divided into *Separatives (distinctivi)* or *rulers*, and *Unitives (conjunctivi)* or *servants*. That the accentuation preeminently serves a musical purpose appears from the following reasons, 1) that the logical discrimination needed proportionally far fewer separatives; 2) that many unitives have been found which do not indicate various degrees of connection, but only represent different kinds of modulation; 3) that there is a so-called prosaic accentuation, which is distinguished from the metrical not logically, but only musically, since it is based upon a more manifold, richer, more artistic and pathetic cantillation; 4) that even short verses are accentuated after the analogy of the longer, which can only have arisen from an effort to secure a symmetrical recitation. There are however verses which form such a continuity that the halving of the verse through a great separative, or even at all, cannot be effected, e. g. Gen. xxi, 9. Numb. ix, 1. Deut. iv, 48; v, 23. 1 Chron. xxviii, 1. But as a rule the verse whether long or short is divided into two members. Both accentual systems rest upon the same dichotomic principle. The great accents are heaped upon the end of the verse, since its close according to the rhythmical rule should be spoken slowly and sung with suitable cadence. Words which belong closely together are commonly united with Maqqēφ and then receive only one accent. The metrical accentuation however frequently prefers to give the first word a unitive, as e. g. 'ānî in the three poetical books is never connected with Maqqēφ. That the Maqqēφ serves to prevent the succession of several unitives is not true; several unitives can immediately follow one another, but never more than six Jer. xxxv, 15. 2. Kings xviii, 14. They are all of the same logical value. The connective power,

however, of the unitive which *precedes* is stronger than that of the one which follows, as also the disjunctive power of the separative which precedes is stronger than that of the one which follows. The ascendancy of the musical function is further indicated by the fact that one word can be provided with two unitives. There are on the other hand only five examples, in which one word is pointed with two separative accents, Gen. v, 29. Lev. x, 4. 2. Kings xvii, 13. Ez. xlvi, 10. Zeph. ii, 15.

§. 20. Prose accents. *A) Separatives:* 1)  $\aleph$  *Sil-lûq*, which with *Sóφ pāsúq* (:) always indicates the end of a period; 2)  $\aleph$  'Aṣnaḥtâ ('Aṣnaḥ); 3)  $\hat{\aleph}$  *Sëgoltâ*, which is always above the last letter and hence does not indicate the tone-syllable; 4)  $\acute{\aleph}$  *Zāqēφ qātān* with  $\acute{\aleph}$  *Zāqēφ gādôl*; 5)  $\acute{\aleph}$  *Rëḥî'a*; 6)  $\aleph$  *Tîçḥâ*; 7)  $\aleph$  *Tëḥîr*; 8)  $\aleph$  *Yëḥîḥ* and its equivalent  $\aleph$  *Paṣtâ*, the former with words which are not preceded by any unitive and whose tone is on the first letter, the latter where both conditions fail; 9)  $\acute{\aleph}$  *Pāzēr* (*qātān*) and its equivalent  $\acute{\aleph}$  *Pāzēr gādôl* or *Qarnê φārâ*, which occurs only sixteen times, Num. xxxv, 5. Jos. xix, 51. 2. Sam. iv, 2 etc.; 10)  $\acute{\aleph}$  *Tāres*, *Gāreš* or 'Azlâ with  $\acute{\aleph}$  *Gëṛāšayim*, double *Gāreš*; 11)  $\aleph$  *Lëḥarmēh*, the figure of a *Mūnaḥ* with a separating stroke after it; 12)  $\acute{\aleph}$  *Tëḥîšâ ḡḡdôlâ*, always above the first letter of the word and inclining to the right; 13)  $\tilde{\aleph}$  *Zarqâ* always above and a little to the left of the last letter; 14)  $\aleph$  *Šalsāleḥ*, which only occurs seven times, Gen. xix, 16; xxiv, 12 etc. *B) Unitives:* 1)  $\aleph$  *Mūnaḥ*, sometimes e. g. Gen. xviii, 25; xliii, 21 with following *Pāsēq* as a unitive, which may be recognized by this, that *Lëḥarmēh* scarcely ever appears except on the second word before *Rëḥî'a*;

2) ♂ *Mêrēxâ*; 3) ♂ *Mêrēxâ kēφûlá*, double *Mêrēxâ*, which occurs only fourteen times; 4) ♂ *Mēhuppāχ* (*Mahpaχ*), always with the tone-syllable after the vowel, while *Yēšîβ* stands outside of the word before the vowel of the first letter; 5) ♂ *Dargā*; 6) ♀ *Qadmâ*, always over the first letter of the tone-syllable, while *Paštâ* stands at the end of the word; 7) ♀ *Tēlišâ qēṭannâ*, always at the end of a word and inclining towards the left, while the separative *Tēlišâ γēḏólâ* stands at the beginning of a word and inclines to the right; 8) ♂ *Galgal* only sixteen times with following *Pāzēr gēḏólâ*; 9) ♂ *Mē'aylâ*, which has the same form as the separative *Tīφhâ*, but which is easily distinguishable, since it never occurs alone, but under the same word with *Sillûq*, Lev. xxi, 4 or *'Aṣnah*, Numb. xxviii, 26, takes the place of the counter-tone. It is customary with the prepositives and postpositives to indicate the tone-syllable by the repetition of the figure of the accent e. g. *šē'm'at'ī'χa* Gen. xvii, 20. The three greatest separatives are *Sillûq*, which closes the verse, *'Aṣnah* which halves it, and *Sēγoltâ* (or its vicar *Šalsāleš*), which, when the first hemistich is large, halves it again, e. g. Gen. i, 7. Each of these great separatives can only be used once in a verse. Of course every verse must have a *Sillûq*. But verses occur, as Gen. xxi, 9, which cannot have *'Aṣnah*, and consequently cannot have any *Sēγoltâ*. There are circumstances which render *'Aṣnah* possible under the first word of a verse e. g. Gen. xv, 8; xxxv, 5, but not *Sēγoltâ*, in this case *Šalsāleš* takes its place e. g. Gen. xxiv, 12. Next in rank to the greatest separatives follow the great separatives *Zāqēφ* and *Rēβiā'*; the smaller separatives *Paštū* (*Yēšîβ*), *Tīφhâ*, *Tēβîr* and *Zarqā*; the smallest separatives *Tāres*, *Lēγarmēh*, *Γāzēr* and *Tēlišâ γēḏólâ*. *Zāqēφ* separates more than *Rēβiā'*; *Tīφhâ* more than *Tēβîr*, *Tāres* and *Lēγarmēh* more than

*Pāzēr*; *Pāzēr* more than *Tēlīsā*, which is the least of all the separatives. With the exception of the three greatest separatives all the others can be repeated in the verse, yet *Tīφhá*, *Rěβía'*, *Tūres* and *Tēlīs'á* cannot be repeated immediately after each other. A single verse of the Bible, Is. xxxix, 2, contains all the separatives. We pass over the assignment of the unitives to the separatives, since all the separatives, assuch, have the same worth. *Yēz'β*, *Zāqēφ γādól*, and *Šalsāle* appear always without any preceding servants. The other separatives can be accompanied by servants or not; only *Pāzēr γādól* is never found without a servant.

§. 20 a. In the metrical system of accentuation the following occupy the first rank as the greatest separatives  $\text{Ḥ}$  *Sillúq*,  $\text{ḤḤ}$  *'Ólā vęyórēd* (*Mēręχā-mahpaχ*), and  $\text{Ḥ}$  *'Aznahṭā*, which again halves the second hemistich following *'Ólā vęyórēd*. The second class is represented by  $\text{Ḥ}$  *Rěβía' γādól*. The third class comprises  $\text{Ḥ}$  *Činnór* or *Zarqā* (postpositivus);  $\text{ḤḤ}$  *Rěβía' muγrās*;  $\text{Ḥ}$  *Rěβía' qātān* which may be recognized by the fact that *'Ólā vęyórēd* always immediately follows; and  $\text{Ḥ}$  *Šalsāle* *gęđólā*, with a separating stroke behind it. The least separatives of the fourth class are  $\text{Ḥ}$  *Dęhí* (*Tīφhá* *initiale*), which is always before the vowel at the beginning of a word;  $\text{Ḥ}$  *Pāzēr* and  $\text{Ḥ}$  *Męhuppāχ Lęγarmēh* together with  $\text{Ḥ}$  *'Azlā* (*Qadmá*) *Lęγarmēh*. *Dęhí* and *Pāzēr* separate more than *Lęγarmēh*; *Pāzēr* separates more than *Lęγarmēh* and less than *Dęhí*. But in the beginning of a period which does not allow of any *'Ólā vęyórēd* nor *'Aznah*, *Pāzēr*, Ps. cxlvi, 1 and *Lęγarmēh*, Ps. cvi, 1 sometimes have the value of this greatest separative. The unitives in this accentual system of the three so-called metrical books are  $\text{Ḥ}$  *Mēręχā*,  $\text{Ḥ}$  *Múnah*,  $\text{Ḥ}$  *'Illáy* (upper

*Mûnah*), & *Galgāl* or *Yārāh*, & *Tarhā*, which can be distinguished from *Dḡhā* by its position under the tone-syllable, & *Mēhuppāχ*, & 'Azlā, and & Šalsāleḡ qəṭannū. The figure of *Çinnôr* or *Zarqū* in words like קִוְמָה *qûmā*, Ps. iii, 8, is *Çinnôrîḡ*, which is always written over an open syllable, preceding one which is provided with *Mērḡχā* or *Mēhuppāχ*; its value is simply musical: the ultima in the above קוְמָה is the tone-syllable, as is always the case with following יְהוָה (= אֲדֹנָי) or אֱלֹהִים Num. x, 35. Ps. lxxiv, 22. The descent of the tone is intended to secure the clear pronunciation of the colliding syllables. In both accentual systems, the laws of transformation<sup>1</sup> furnish an important chapter for

<sup>1</sup> The laws, for the transformation of separatives into unitives in the metrical system of accents are given by S. Baer in Delitzsch's "Commentar über den Psalter", B. ii, 1860, S. 503 sq. In the accentual system of the twenty one prose books the following rules are to be observed. A) Pašṭa without any preceding servant only stands before Zāqēḡ, when the word which should receive Zāqēḡ has two syllables before the tone, e. g. עֲמֹדֵיהֶם אֲרִבְעָה Ex. xxvii, 16. A long vowel, viz. Hōlem, Qāmēḡ or Çêrê, is equivalent to two syllables. If the word which receives Zāqēḡ does not have two syllables before the tone, the servant Mûnah must be placed before it instead of Pašṭa, e. g. עֲמֹדֵיהֶם שְׁלֹשָׁה Ex. xxvii, 14. B) Zāqēḡ and Ṭiḡḡa can only stand before Sillûḡ, when the word with Sillûḡ or even that with Ṭiḡḡa has two syllables before the tone, e. g. לִמְטָה רֹאשׁוֹן שְׁמוֹעַ בְּיִזְכוּר Num. xiii, 4 (with the servant Mûnah before Zāqēḡ). If the word with Sillûḡ does not have two syllables before the tone, the servant Mērḡχā must be placed instead of Ṭiḡḡa; hence Zāqēḡ cannot remain before the Mērḡχā, since Zāqēḡ must not stand immediately before Sillûḡ, and so Ṭiḡḡa takes the place of Zāqēḡ, e. g. לִמְטָה אֲפָרִים הוֹשִׁיעַ בְּיָדוֹן Numb. xiii, 8. C) The same rule is in force before Ašnaḡṭa, e. g. וְכִין כֹּל־נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֲתַכֶּם Gen. ix, 12, where likewise Ṭiḡḡa before Ašnaḡṭa becomes a servant. The word חַיָּה has Ṭiḡḡa, not Zāqēḡ, since Zāqēḡ cannot



the grammarian and exegete. There are circumstances under which a unitive takes the place of a separative for an absolutely rhythmical reason, just as, for rhythmical reasons, in the realm of Sillûq great separatives take the place of unitives in order to secure an emphatic final cadence. The rhythmical demands of the cadence also furnish reasons for changes to which the tone-syllable of the word is subject at the end or middle of the verse or even with greater distinctives within the verse.

§. 21. The *pausa* enters at the end of a sentence, especially with *Sillûq* and 'Aṣnaḥ and in the three metrical books with *Sillûq*, 'Ôlā vÿyôred or 'Aṣnaḥ i. e. the last word undergoes certain changes in order that each sentence when recited may have a fitting cadence. A half vowel in the penultima is heightened to its original vowel and receives the tone. Accordingly קָטַלְתָּהּ *qāṭəṭlā* is changed to קָטַלְתָּהּ *qāṭālā*, כָּבַדְתָּהּ *kāḇəḏdā* to כָּבַדְתָּהּ *kāḇēdā*, יִקְטַלְתָּהּ *yiqṭəṭlū* to יִקְטַלְתָּהּ *yiqṭólū*, לָחִי *ləḥī* to לָחִי *ləḥī* (original forms *qāṭalat*, *kabidat*, *yaqṭulūna*, *lachy*, 'any, *huly*). Otherwise the tone is seldom drawn back, except in אָנֹכִי *'ānōḵī*, אָטָא *'āttā*, אָטָא *'āttā*). On the contrary in the apocopated future the tone returns to the final syllable, because this contains the stem of the word; hence *a* enters instead of *e*. Thus וַיִּשְׁמַע וַיִּשְׁמַע *vay-yāqom* becomes וַיִּשְׁמַע וַיִּשְׁמַע *vay-yāqôm* in *pausa*, וַיִּגְמַל וַיִּגְמַל *vay-yiggāmel* becomes וַיִּגְמַל וַיִּגְמַל *vay-yiggāmál*, וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיֵּלֶךְ *vay-yélex*, וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיֵּלֶךְ *vay-*

stand immediately before Aṣnaḥta or Sillûq, and the word וַיִּבֶן has Tēbir, not Pašta, because Pašta before Tīḥa is not allowable. In all these cases the accentuation is determined by musical laws, and the exegete must beware of confounding the musical with the logical accentuation.

*yēláχ*, תָּלֵן *tālen*, תָּלָן *tālán* (original forms *va yaqum*, *va yangamil*, *va yalik*, *talin*). In monosyllabic nominal stems original *a* is often heightened to  $\bar{a}$  instead of  $\bar{a}$ , e. g. גָּבֵר *gāḇ(e)r*, זָרַע *zār(a)ʿ*, which out of pausa are גָּבֵר *gāḇ(e)r*, זָרַע *zār(a)ʿ*, original forms *gabr*, *zar*ʿ. Short accented *a* is heightened in the pausa, e. g. קָטָל *qātál* to קָטָל *qātál*, מָיִם *máy(i)m* to מָיִם *máy(i)m*.

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## II.

# PHONOLOGY.

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### 1. CONSONANTS.

§. 22. The Hebrew consonants are divided according to their organic formation into *gutturals* (‘, *h*, *h*, ‘), *palatals* (*y*, *g*, *k*, *q*), *labials* (*v*, *b*, *p*), *dentals* (*d*, *t*, *t*) and *sibilants* (*z*, *s*, *š*, *š*, *š*). The letter *n* is a dental and *m* a labial nasal, *l* is a dental, *r* vacillates between gutturals and dentals. The Hebrew consonants may be distinguished 1) according to their duration into continuatives (*h*, *h*, *y*, *v*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *š*, *n*, *m*, *r*, *l*), and explosives (the remaining letters), and 2) according to their degree of hardness, as softest (‘, *y*, *v*), soft (*h*, *g*, *b*, *d*, *z*), hard (*h*, *k*, *p*, *t*, *s*, *š*, *š*), and hardest (‘, *q*, *t*, *š*).<sup>1</sup> The letters *v*, *y* form a special class as

<sup>1</sup> In Ethiopic there is a labial (*Pait*, see Dillmann, “Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache”, Leipzig 1857, S. 45, §. 5) of the hardest degree. The propriety of reckoning ‘Ayin among the hardest explosives is justified by its manifold correspondence in Aramaic to the Hebrew *q*, since in these cases the original *t* first became *q* (compare Chaldaic אַרְגָּא *’argâ*) and then ‘; and it is not invalidated by the fact that ‘Ayin afterwards became almost mute, since *q* has suffered the same fate in a part of the Arabic speaking countries, See Hassan, “Grammatik der vulgär-arabischen Sprache”, Wien 1869, S. 5.

vowel consonants, which easily pass over into their corresponding vowels. The following table illustrates the organic distinction of the letters and their relative degrees of hardness.

	1 <i>Softest.</i>	2 <i>Soft.</i>	3 <i>Hard.</i>	4 <i>Hardest.</i>	<i>Nasals.</i>	<i>Liquids.</i>
Palatals	ך ך	ג	ט	ק		
Labials		ב	פ		ב	
Dentals		ד	ה	ח	נ	ל } ך
Gutturals	א	ה	ה	ע		
Sibilants		ז	ש שׁ שׂ	ז		

§. 23. Parts of the Hebrew sibilants have arisen from original dentals, namely a part of *z* from *d* e. g. זִבּוּן  $z(\zeta)\bar{v}\beta$ , compare Aramaic דְּבִבָּא *dēbā*, Arabic ذِئْبٌ *dzi'bun*; of *š* from *t*, e. g. שׁוֹר *šôr*, Aram. תּוֹרָא *tôrā*, Arab. <sup>s</sup>تَوْرٌ *tsaurun*; of  $\zeta$  from  $t$ , e. g. צְבִי  $\zeta(\zeta)\beta i$ , Aram. צְבִיָּא *taβya*, Arab. <sup>s</sup>ظَبْيٌ *tḥabyun*. The analogy of *š* and the transposition of  $t\zeta$  to  $\zeta t$ , compare §. 25, render it probable that *z* and  $\zeta$  were spoken without any dental admixture. The difficult letter  $\zeta$  may be regarded as already in the primitive Semitic a medial sound between *s* and *š*, which maintained itself in Hebrew, while in Aramaic it went back to *s*, and in Arabic was still further developed to *š* (ش), compare on the other hand Olshausen §. 6. e. Neither  $\zeta$  nor *š* is original, since the former has arisen from *s*, and the latter from *s* or *t*. Both *ç* and *ħ* had a smoother and a harder sound. This is proved through the LXX,

the old Egyptian transcription<sup>1</sup>, and lexical reasons (i. e. the different significations of some identical roots, in which a *h* or 'ayin occurs); e. g. אֶזְזָא 'Azzā, LXX. Γάζα; אֶמְלֵת 'Amālēq, Ἀμαλέα; אֶמְ חָמַם Hām, Χάμ; אֶמְ חָוָּה Hāvā, Εὐά.

§. 24. The letters *b, g, d, k, p, t* when immediately preceded by a vowel or half vowel *Šǝvā mobile* or *Hāṭēφ*, even in a foregoing word, become *aspirated*. E. g. אֶפְרָיִם *šāpār*, אֶבְרָחָם *bǝrāxā*, אֶפְרָיִם *kǝpī*. The aspiration ceases: 1) when the preceding word is punctuated with a larger or smaller separative accent, e. g. with *Rǝbīa'* Gen. iii, 5 אֶפְרָיִם כִּי *kī bǝyóm*; 2) when the consonant is doubled e. g. אֶפְרָיִם *kappér*; 3) after an inserted auxiliary *Paṣah* which as will be mentioned in §. 55, rem. was first used at a very late period, e. g. אֶפְרָיִם *šālāh(a)t*, אֶפְרָיִם *yih(a)d*. The aspiration never occurs after a consonant, but after *Āleφ* at the end of a syllable, which is no longer a consonant, and as a matter of course after final *He* when it is merely a vowel sign (§. 13). — The great age of this lingual phenomenon is attested through the Aramaic and the Egyptian transcription, but (excepting *Phe*) it has not yet penetrated the Arabic.

§. 25. The transposition of consonants enters the *hiṣpa'el* even in the primitive Semitic, since *hiṣ-s, hiṣ-š, hiṣ-š* become *his-t, hiš-t, hiš-t*, e. g. אֶתְבַּבֵּל *histabbél* for *hiṣ-sabbél*, likewise אֶתְבַּבֵּר *hištā'ér*, אֶתְבַּמֵּר *hištammér*. If the sibilant is a *ç*, the *t* must be brought to the same degree of hardness, consequently to *t̄* (See the fourth grade in the preceding table), e. g. אֶתְבַּדֵּק *hištaddéq*.

<sup>1</sup> When ' in hieroglyphic texts corresponds to *ε* it is transcribed by characters which are equivalent to *a, ā*, but when it corresponds to *ε* by characters for *g, k*, e. g. in Gaza. A similar distinction is observed in such inscriptions between Semitic words, whose *h* is equivalent to an Arabic *ح* or *خ*.

In the only example for *z* assimilation takes place instead of transposition, e. g. **הִזְזַקְהוּ** *hizzakkū* for *hizdakkā*.

§. 26. Doubling of a consonant arises otherwise than through the fortuitous conjunction of two identical consonants, as in **נָהַנְּוּ** *nāḥán-nū*: 1) in certain forms of the noun and verb (pi'el) which have resulted from original reduplication of the roots; 2) in consequence of the vocal law in primitive Semitic that, as a rule, the short vowel between two identical consonants is cast out, or, when this is impossible, transposed that the identical consonants may come together. Comp. **סַב** *saḅ* according to §. 27 for *sabb*, originally *sababa*, **סַבְּבִי** *sábbū* from *sababū*, **יָסַבְּבִי** *yāsóbbū* from *yasubbū* transposed for *yasububū*. 3) Doubling arises through the assimilation of two consonants, especially of *n* to a following consonant (**יִפְּוֹל** *yippól* for *yinpól*, **נָהַנְּוּ** *nāḥántā* for *nāḥántū*, **מִשְׁשָׁם** *miššām* for *minšām*, before gutturals the assimilation is often omitted, compare **יִנְהָל** *yinhál*), of *l* in **יִקְּחֶהָ** *yiqqáh*, of *y* (*v*), in several verbs, as **יִצְּוֹק** *yicšóq*, from *yi-yčšóq*, original form *ya-vcuq* (unless perhaps there is here a transition to the verbal class *primae nun*), and of the *t* in the hiḥpa'el before dentals (**הִדְּבֶר** *hiddabbēr*, **הִטְּחֶהָ** *hittahér*). 4) Sometimes the doubling is only euphonic, either in order to bind two words more closely together (**מַזְזָהוּ** *mazzā*), or in order to protect a short vowel through the closing of the syllable against changes e. g. **גְּמַלְלִים** *gǔmallim*, Stat. cstr. **גְּמַלְלֵי** *gǔmallé*.

§. 27. The doubling always ceases at the end of a word, because no syllable can end with two consonants, comp. §. 30; besides this the accented final syllable must be heightened, according to §. 42, 1; only

*a* can remain short. Compare כָּלוּ *kulló'* with כָּל *kól* for *kull*, and according to §. 19, כּוֹל- *kol-*, הִסֵּב *hēsēḅ* original form *hisibb*, with הִסְבִּיחַ *hāsibbó'ḅā*, יָצַח *yěḡar-vā* with יָצַח *vayěḡáv*, אָפוּ *'appó'* with אָפָה *'aḡ*, תִּטִּי *tittí* with תִּי *tēḅ* for *titt*. The doubling can also disappear before a half vowel, especially in the prefixes *yě* and *mě* before the piel, yet never in letters which can be aspirated, e. g. וַיִּדְבַּר *vayěḏabbēr*, הִתְדַבֵּר *haměḏabbēr*, וַיִּחַר *vayěḡhí'*, but וַתִּדְבַּר *vattěḏabbēr*.

§. 28. The gutturals ' *h* ' *ḡ*, as well as *r* are not wont to be doubled in Hebrew, nevertheless the preceding vowel is either treated as though the doubling had taken place, and the syllable is closed through so-called *Dāḡeš forte implicitum* (this is almost always the case with *ḡ* and in the pi'el with *h* and ' , seldom with ' and never with *r*, compare הִחְדָּשׁ *haḡōḏ(e)š*, בִּיעַר *bī'ēr*, טִיָּהַר *tīhár*, הִחַוָּה *hahá'*, נָאֵץ *nā'ēḡ*), or the preceding syllable is regarded as open and its vowel is heightened according to §. 42. This occurs only seldom with *ḡ*, commonly with ' , *h*, almost always with ' and always with *r*, e. g. הִאָּיַן *hā'áy(i)n*, הִחַּר *hāhár*, הִאָּרַץ *hā'ár(e)ḡ*, בִּיעַר *bērēḡ*.<sup>1</sup>

§. 29. When *ḡ*, which is to be doubled has *Qāmēḡ*, or *Hāḡēḡ qāmēḡ*, the vowel before it is wont to be heightened to *ā* for the sake of dissimilarity. It is heightened before *h* and ' only when the *Qāmēḡ* is unaccented. Compare הִחַזְוֹן *hāḡāzō'n*, כְּהָא' *kāḡā's*, אֲחָי *'āḡā(y)v*, הִחְדָּשִׁים *hāḡōḏāšī'm*, הִחַרְוֹם *hāḡārī'm*, but הִחַר *hāhár*, הִאָּוֹן *hā'āvō'n*, but הִאָּם *hā'ām*. This heightening

<sup>1</sup> \*There are only a few cases in which *ḡ* is pointed with *Dāḡeš*, compare Delitzsch on Prov. iii, 8; xiv, 10.

occurs before ' only in הָאֶבְרִי *hā'ānōχi'*, but never before *v*.

§. 30. No syllable, in Hebrew, can begin with two consonants (except שְׂתַיִם *štáyim*). To prevent this a half vowel is inserted between them (e. g. קָטַל *q(ə)tōl*, original form *qtul* = *qutl*, Arabic 'uqtul). The Arabic expedient of prefixing an 'Alep prostheticum to the word is less in favor. Compare אֶזְרוֹ *'ezrô(a)* with זֶרַע *zə-rô(a)*, original form *zirá'*. — Nor are two consonants allowed at the end of a syllable, except several combinations with *b*, *d*, *t*, *ṭ*, *k* or *q* at the end of a word, as וַיַּשֶּׁק *vayyásq*, וַיַּיֶד *vayyéd*, וַיַּיֶכֶ *vayyék*. Otherwise it is always customary in such a case to insert an auxiliary vowel, comp. §. 52.

§. 31. The vowel consonants *v*, *y* are subject through permutation, vocalization and elision to many vocal laws which, with the exception of the first four cases in this paragraph, existed even in primitive Semitic. The letter *v* frequently passes over into *y* through permutation, 1) especially at the beginning of a word e. g. יָלַד *yalád*, originally *valada*, יוֹשֵׁב *yôšéβ*, orig. *vášib*, only a few words, as וָ *váv* and וָלַד *vā-lád* retain *v*; 2) mostly also after the prefix of the *hišpa'el*, e. g. הִשְׁפִּיל *hišyalléd*, yet forms like הִשְׁפִּיל *hišvaddá'* occur; 3) often in reduplicated second radical consonants, e. g. קָיַם *qayyém*; 4) almost always, where *v* appears as a third radical consonant, as in גָּלַי *gā-láy*; 5) between *i* and a consonant, comp. יָרַ *'ir* = 'iyr = 'ivr, יָרַשׁ *yírásš* = *yiyraš* = *yivraš*; 6) between a consonant and *i*, comp. יָקַם *yāqím* = *yaqyim* = *yaqvim*. — The transformation of *y* into *v*, especially between *u* and a consonant, is more seldom, comp. שׁוּשׁ *šúš* = *šurš* = *šuyš*.



§. 32. Elision of the vowel consonants occurs in the following cases. 1) The transposed form *qtil* from *qitl* lost its first radical consonant through aphaeresis, when it was a *v*. This is the fundamental form of the infinitive, imperative and future *qal* of a number of primae *v* verbs. Comp. דַּעַ *dē(a)ʿ* = [*v*]dīʿ, שֵׁב *šēβ* = [*v*]šib, יֵשֵׁב *yēšēβ* = *yi-šib* = *ya-[v]šib*<sup>1</sup>; likewise the feminine infinitive of the form *qtal* from *qatl*, as שָׁבַת *šāβ̄(e)t* = *všab-t*. 2) After a consonant *va*, *ya* elide their *v*, *y* and receive, instead of these, compensative lengthening of the *a* to *â* Hebrew *ô* according to §. 40. Comp. נָקָם *nāqôʿm*, מָקָם *māqôʿm*, יָבוֹא *yāβôʿ*, יְבוֹשׁ *yēβôʿš*, נָבוֹן *nāβôʿn* from *naqvam*, *maqvam*, *yabraʿ*, *yibvaš*, *nabyan*. 3) Likewise *v*, *y* between two vowels are almost always elided<sup>2</sup>, of course without compensation, and then both vowels are contracted. By this means *ava*, *aya* become *â* or *ô* (קָם *qām*, סָר *sār*, דֹּר *dôr*, יָקָם *yiqqôʿm*, יִכּוֹן *yikkôʿn* from *qavam*, *savar*, *davar*, *yinqavam*, *yinkavan*), *avi* becomes *ê* (מָעֵי *mēʿ* = *marit*), *aru* becomes *ô* (בּוֹשׁ *bôš* = *bavuš*). A preceding short vowel is absorbed by a following long one, thus קִים *qim* has arisen from *qavûm*. — This elision of *y*, *v* between two vowels occurred even when the second was one of those final vowels, which according to §. 37, fall away in Hebrew.<sup>3</sup> In this case however

<sup>1</sup> The aphaeresis of the *v* is of course older than the introduction of the future prefixes.

<sup>2</sup> The elision does not take place, when two vowel consonants follow each other as radical letters, e. g. רָוָה *rāvâ* = *rava[ya]* and in few other cases, as רָוַה *rāvâh*, אָיָב *ʾâyâβ*.

<sup>3</sup> The elision of *v*, *y* between the two vowels was customary even in the old Semitic, while the casting off of the original final vowel which immediately follows rests upon the later specific Hebrew law of *final sound*. Comp. Arab. *ramâ* = *ra-*

no vowel contraction could enter because in Hebrew after the elision of *y*, *v* the final vowel which immediately follows is also rejected. Hence there arose only a heightening of the preceding vowel according to §. 42, 2. It is perhaps merely accidental that original *a[va]*, *a[ya]* is always heightened to *ā* and original *a[vu]*, *a[yu]* to *ā*, e. g. גָּלָא׃ *gālā* (but not *gālā*, since with the suffix it has the form גָּלְעָא׃ *gālēʿā*), original form *gala[va]*, יִיגְלָא׃ *yīglā*, original form *ya-gla[vu]*, גּוֹלְעָא׃ *gōlēʿā*, original form *gāla[vum]*. When *ā* precedes *v*, *y*, it remains or becomes *ô* according to §. 40, e. g. *inf. absol.* גּוֹלְעָא׃ *gālô* = *galāvum*. But if the vowel which followed was long or was not the last sound in the word, it was naturally not affected by the laws of *final sound*, but remained and after the ejection of *v* or *y* the short vowel was either contracted or absorbed by the long one. Comp. *inf. constr.* גְּלֹלָת׃ *gĕlōt* = *gĕlāt*, *gĕla[v]-at*, 3. fem. Perf. אֲשַׁטְּ׃ *ʿāšĕṭ* (commonly with a double feminine ending אֲשַׁטְּ׃ *ʿāšĕṭ-ṭ*) = *ʿaša-t*, according to §. 38 for *ʿašāt*, from *ʿašav-at*, גּוֹלְעָא׃ *gālū* = *galavū*, יִיגְלָא׃ *yīglū* = *yaqlavūna*, אֲשַׁטְּ׃ *ʿōšĕṭ* = *ʿāsavī*.

§. 33. On the contrary elision does not take place, but the vocalizing of *y*, *v* to *i*, *u*: 1) between *a* and a consonant; 2) between a homogeneous vowel and a consonant; 3) between a consonant and a homogeneous vowel (*i* is homogeneous with *y*, *u* with *v*). Then *iy* and *yi* become *ī*, *uv* and *vu* become *ū*, *ay* becomes *ē*, *av* becomes *ô*. Compare יִיגְלָא׃ *yīglā* = *yīglā*, הִיבִין׃ *hībīn* = *hibyīn*, נֶאֱקִי׃ *nāqīy* from *naqīy*, הִשְׁאֵב׃ *hūšāb* from

*ma[y]a*, with hebr. *rāmā* = *rama[ya]*; Arab. *yaʿlū* = *yaʿlu[v]u*, apocopated *yaʿlu*, with hebr. *yaʿ(ā)lā* = *yaʿla[vu]*, apocopated *yaʿ(a)l* = *yaʿl[a]*.

*hušab*, יָקוּם *yāqú'm* from *yaqum*, אָשׂוּ' *'āšú'* from *'ašûr*, בַּיַּת *bé'ē* from *bayt*, הַיְיִטִּב *hét'itβ* from *haytib*, מֹדֵם *mô'dē* from *mart*, נוֹשֵׁב *nôšáβ* from *navšab*. The number of the homogeneous vowels is increased by the fact that according to §. 31 *vi* becomes *yi*, *iv* becomes *iy*, *yu* however becomes *yi*, and then all three are changed to *i*. Comp. יִירָשׁ *yírás* = *yiyraš*, *yiwraš*, יְהִקִּים *hēqim* = *hiqyim* = *hiqvim*, יַבְיִן *yāβin* = *yabyin*, *yabyun*. On the contrary *úy*, גָּלְיָ' *gālú'y*, remains unchanged. — The vocalization of the vowel consonants naturally takes place provided they already formed the final sound of the word in primitive Semitic, e. g. כִּיִּי *súsé'* = *súsay*. Therefore the imperative of the stems *tert. v*, *y* has a diphthongal ending, comp. גֶּלֶ' *gělé* from *gělay*. For the nouns whose *stat. absol.* ends in *ā*, and the *stat. cstr.* in *é* comp. §. 95. — The *ay* which has arisen from *é* is sometimes attenuated to *i* (גָּלְיָ' *gāl'í* גָּלְיָ'), and the *ó* which has arisen from *av* becomes in rare cases *ú*, יֹחַל *yúχál* = *yôχal*, *yarkal*.<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to accept the diphthongal change, contested by Olshausen of *ay* to *â* (יֹחַל) for such forms as תִּלְנָנָה *g(ě)lānā*, תִּלְנָנָה *tiχlānā*, כִּיִּי *súsāhā*, of which the original forms were *glayna*, *taglayna*, *súsayhā*, since otherwise vowel consonants in the original final sound of the syllable are never *elided*. — In the Hebrew composition *i-yě* is contracted to *i*, compare וְיִי *vihi'* = *vi yěhi'*, בִּיהוּדָא *bihúdá* = *bi yěhúdá*.

§. 34. The vowel consonants *y*, *v* retain their consonantal character, 1) when as first radical con-

<sup>1</sup> \*The author considers the form יֹחַל as the future *gal*. It is commonly regarded as a *hoφ'al* which, in a metaplastic way, lends to the verb רָכַל, *to be capable*, its imperfect, *he shall be made capable*.

sonants they begin the syllable<sup>1</sup> e. g. יָשַׁב *yāšaβ*;  
 2) when an unhomogeneous vowel except *a* precedes,  
 e. g. שָׁלוֹ *šālēv*, גָּלוּי *gālūy*, גוֹי *gōy*, זֵיו *zīv*; these combinations are not diphthongs and hence the hard sound of *b g d k p t* follows them; 3) when they are doubled קָיָם *qiyyám*, חָיָה *hayyá*, גָּוָה *gavvó'*, יִבְרָשׁ *yivvārēš*; if the doubling falls out, *iy* becomes *i* יְבָרִי 'iβrī', plur. יְבָרִיִּים 'iβriyyīm also יְבָרִים 'iβrīm, but *ay*, *av* remain, except in the *stat. estr.*, חַי *hay*, *stat. estr.* הֵי *hē*, גַּי *gay* *stat. estr.* probably גוֹ *gó*, עָלַי 'ālay, original form 'alayya.  
 4) Besides *ay*, *av* are also retained in isolated cases, as שָׁלוֹתִי *šālartī*, עוֹלָה 'avlá, מַיְמִינִים *maymīnīm*, regularly however in the *stat. absol.* of monosyllabic nominal forms, where *av*, *ay* through insertion of an auxiliary vowel become *áv(e)*, *áy(i)*, while in the *stat. estr.* contraction always takes place e. g. מָוֶה *máv(e)*, בָּיֶה *báy(i)*, *estr.* מוֹה *móh*, בֵּיֶה *béih*. Yet compare §. 32, Remark 1. All the rules concerning the vowel consonants may be condensed into the following sentence: *v, y* between vowels, as well as between a consonant and an *a*, are elided, in the latter case with the compensative lengthening of *a* to *ô*; otherwise, when it is possible, they are vocalized, whereby *v* through a preceding or following *i* is changed into *y*.

§. 35. Besides *v* (comp. §. 32, 1) the following letters, can suffer *aphaeresis* in the form *qatl*, *qtíl* = *qatl*, *qtíl*: 1) *n* גַּשׁ *gaš* for [ně]gaš, גַּשְׁתָּ *gäš(e)* for nęgaš-t, תֵּן *tēn* for nętin, תֵּנתָ *tēn* for nętin-t; 2) *l* in קָח *qah* = lęqah, קָחַתָּ *qáh(a)* = lęqah-t, *h* in לָחַק *lāḥ* = [hǎ]lik,

<sup>1</sup> In the initial sound of a word only the copula *ḥ* *vē* before half vocalized syllables, with *šġvā* or *ḥateφ*, and the labials *b*, *p*, *m* is resolved into *ú*. There are no other cases in Hebrew, where the initial sound of a syllable is a vowel without 'aleφ.

לָכָה  $l\bar{a}x(e)h = [h\check{a}]lak-t$ . Initial 'ă is cut off from אָנַחְנֹה  $'\bar{a}nahnu$  leaving נָחְנֹה  $nahnu$ . The *h* of the prefixes is usually thrown out between a half vowel and a vowel, whereby the former vanishes, e. g. לָמַלְלָהּ  $lamm\bar{a}l(e)h$ , from לֶם-חַמ-מִלְ(ע)  $l\check{e}-ham-m\bar{u}l(e)h$ , יַאֲקִיֵּל  $yaqt\bar{i}l$  from יֶם-חַ-קִּיֵּל  $y\check{e}-ha-qt\bar{i}l$ . The second vowel vanishes in בָּם  $b\bar{a}m$  from בָּהֶם  $b\bar{a}h\bar{e}m$ . Contraction enters in the suffix סוּסוֹ  $s\bar{u}so'$  from סוּסָא-הוּ  $s\bar{u}sa'-hu$ .

§. 36. The 'Ālep almost always retains its consonantal power in the initial sound of the syllable, except in the future of some verbs *primae* 'Ālep, in which contraction takes place between the vowel of the prefix and the auxiliary vowel (יֹאכֵל  $y\bar{o}x\bar{e}l$  from  $y\bar{a}-'a\check{x}\bar{e}l$ , יֹאמַר  $y\bar{o}m\bar{a}r$  from  $y\bar{a}-'a\check{m}a\bar{r}$ ). In other isolated cases 'ālep is elided between two vowels, comp. לֵמֹר  $l\bar{e}m\bar{o}'r$  from  $le-'\check{e}m\bar{o}r$ , מֵאֲדָיִם  $m\bar{e}'\bar{a}d\bar{a}y\bar{i}m$  from  $m\check{e}'\bar{a}d\bar{a}y\bar{i}m$ , רָאִים  $r\bar{a}'\bar{i}m$  from  $r\check{e}'\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{i}'m$ , לָאֲדֹנָי  $lad\bar{o}n\bar{a}y$  from  $la-'\bar{a}d\bar{o}n\bar{a}y$ , the same sometimes occurs after a consonant, as in מֵלָאֲחָא  $m\bar{e}l\bar{a}x\bar{a}$  from  $mal'\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ . Sometimes also it falls away in writing, e. g. אֲמַר  $'\bar{o}m\bar{a}r$  from  $'a-'\bar{a}m\bar{a}r$ , רִשׁוֹן  $r\bar{i}š\bar{o}'n$  from  $r\check{e}'\bar{i}š\bar{o}'n$ . On the contrary in the final sound of the syllable 'ālep always loses its consonantal sound, and, for this reason, the preceding vowel must be heightened according to §. 42, 2, e. g. מַצָּא  $m\bar{a}ç\bar{a}$  from  $maç\bar{a}'$ , תִּמְצָאנָה  $timç\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  from  $tamç\bar{a}'na$ .

## 2. VOWELS.

§. 37. In the primitive Semitic there were only the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* of which the long forms  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$  arose partly through the contraction of  $a + a$ ,  $i + i$ ,

$u + u$  after the elision of an intermediate  $y$  or  $v$  (§. 32), partly through compensative lengthening (§. 32, 2) in the same way also קִיטֹר *qîtôr* from *qittôr* and the po'êl, which has arisen from the pi'êl, partly through the lengthening of the tone-syllable in *nominal*<sup>1</sup> forms, to which the participles and infinitives belong. These lengthened forms always belong to the primitive Semitic period, while the heightened forms first owe their origin to the peculiar development of the Hebrew. All final consonants except in the imperative, the apocopated future, and the 3. fem. sing. of the perfect, were followed by a vowel or, in the *status abs.* of the masc. sing. and fem. sing. and plural, by a vowel with a nasal. According to the Hebrew laws of final sound all these short final vowels fall away, together with the nasal of the *status absolutus*, while the long vowels remain. Comp. אָבָן 'āβ = Arabic 'abun or 'abin according to §. 38 for 'abîn, but in the *status constructus* אֲבִי 'ăβî = Arabic 'abî. A preceding  $v$ ,  $y$ , according to §. 32, 3, Rem., was elided<sup>2</sup> even in old Semitic where it originally stood between vowels. This law of the final sound affords the reason why the *present Hebrew final syllable is not treated as closed, and hence is not regarded as unchangeable.* The few cases,

<sup>1</sup> E. g. in the participle קִיטֵל *qôṭêl* = *qâṭil*, of which the earlier form according to §. 2, Rem., was *qatal*, like the perfect. That the nominal forms are frequently discriminated in primitive Semitic from the verbal forms through the lengthening, and in Hebrew through the heightening of the vowel of their tone-syllable, is occasioned by the stronger emphasis, which rests in all languages upon the nominal forms.

<sup>2</sup> The  $n$  of the affix *ûn* also disappears in Hebrew proper names, comp. אֲבַדֹּה 'ăβaddô for 'ăβaddôn, שִׁילֹה 'ilô' for *šilôn*, but it returns when a second affix is added, comp. נְהִינֵי Neh. xi, 5. See §. 80.

in which an original short final vowel remains are to be specified in the doctrine of forms. These final vowels are protected through the joining on of suffixes, and have retained their existence under the inexact name of *connecting vowel*. Comp. קָטָלָנִי qəṭālānī, Arabic and original qatala-nī, אַבְדֵּךְ-כֶּם 'aβdē-χém, Arabic and original 'abdu-kum.

§. 38. Among the few vocal laws of the primitive Semitic the following should be especially emphasized, that a long vowel which was in an originally closed syllable must be shortened. The short vowel which has thus arisen can remain in Hebrew according to §. 42 only in unaccented syllables, while in accented syllables *i*, *u* must be reheghtened to  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  and only *a* can remain short. Comp. יָאֲדָמָה yāqú'm = original ya-qú-mu, on the other hand וַיֵּאָדָמוּ vay-yá-qom, original va-ya-qum, on account of the accent reheghtened to וַיֵּאָדָמוּ yā-qóm = original ya-qum, after the same analogy וַיֵּבִין yāβín = ya-bî-nu, וַיֵּבִין yā-βén = va-ya-bin, וַיֵּבִין yāβén = ya-bin, וַיֵּבִין qám = qá-ma = qa-va-ma, וַיֵּבִין qám-tā for qám-ta from qa-vam-ta, וַיֵּבִין 'āšát = 'ašat for 'ašat from 'ašavat.

§. 39. The Hebrew vowels are divided into 1) *originally long*, to which besides  $\acute{a}$ ,  $\acute{i}$ ,  $\acute{u}$  belong  $\acute{o}$ , which has arisen partly from  $\acute{a}$ , partly from  $a + v$ ,  $a + u$ ;  $\acute{e}$  from  $a + y$ ,  $a + i$  and  $\acute{â}$  likewise from  $a + y$ , comp. §. 33. They are externally recognizable since, with the exception of  $\acute{a}$  they are almost always indicated through *scriptio plena*, with ו or וּ. 2) *Short vowels*: *a*, *i*, *u* together with *e* from *i*, and *o* from *u*. 3) *Heightened*:  $\bar{a}$  and  $\bar{ä}$  from *a*,  $\bar{e}$  from *i*,  $\bar{o}$  from *u*. 4) *Vocalized*:  $\check{e}$  from all the short vowels,  $\check{a}$  from *a*,  $\check{e}$  from *i*,  $\check{o}$  from *u*. The two last classes, which do

not yet exist in the Arabic, have always arisen from the second.

§. 40. The original long vowels are unchangeable in Hebrew, except the case in §. 38. However *â* is very often obscured to *ô*, comp. דֹּר *dôr* = *dâr* = *darvar*, נָקוֹם *nāqô'm* = *naqâm* = *naqvam* (§. 32, 2), מַתָּוֶה *māṭô'q* = *matâq*, קוֹטֵל *qôṭêl* = *qâtîl*. The pure sound remains less often, as in קָם *qâm* from *qavama*, כֶּתָב *kêṭab* = *kitâb*, סָר *sâr* = *savar*. This *ô* is sometimes deepened to *û* through the removal of the accent, comp. מְתוּקָה *mêṭûqâ*, נְקֻמָּה *neṭqûmô'ṣâ*. On the other hand through a misunderstanding of the language, in the case mentioned in §. 38, it is confounded with the *ô*, which has arisen from *u*, and it is shortened to *u*, or relatively reheightened to *ô*. Comp. נְהֻשְׁטָן *neḥušṭân* from *nahôštan* = *nahâš-t-an*, heightened according to §. 42 to נְהֻשְׁטָה *neḥôš(e)ṭ* = *nahuš-t* = *nahôš-t* = *nahâš-t*, likewise שְׁלוֹשׁ *šâlô's* = *šalâš*, from which the fem. שְׁלוֹשָׁה *šêlôš(e)ṭ* = *šalus-t*, אֵת *'eṭ* = *'it* = *'ut* = *'ôt* = *'ât* = *'âyat* = *'away-at*. On the contrary *î* and *û* remain almost entirely unchanged, except through §. 38. Comp. צִדִּיק *ṣaddîq*, קָטִיל *qâtîl*.

§. 41. The short vowels remain unchanged: 1) in sharpened syllables, when the sharpening is not merely euphonic (§. 26, 5), comp. אֲדִירָהּם *'ad-dî-rê-hém*, on the contrary חִזְזוֹן *hiz-zâ-yô'n*, stat. constr. חֶזְזוֹן *he-zê-yô'n*. 2) Generally in all originally closed syllables (therefore with the exception of the final syllables according to §. 37), e. g. מַלְבֻּשֵׁיהֶם *mal-bû-šê-hém*. Of course the immutability ceases, when the syllable in Hebrew is no longer closed through the elision of an 'Aleph (§. 36) or the insertion of an auxiliary vowel e. g. מַרְטֻן *mâ-r(e)ṭ* from *mar-tun*. 3) The *syllabae dagessan-*



*dae* the sharpening of which cannot take place on account of a guttural final sound, participate in the immutability of the first class, e. g. בִּרְרַקְתִּים *bē-rax-tém* for *bir-rak-tum*, בּוֹרְרַקְתִּים *bō-rax-tém* for *bur-rak-tum*, יוֹבָרְרִיכֵנָה (יֹבָרְרִיכֵנָה) *yǒ-βā-rǔ-χú* for *yu-bar-ri-kú-na*. Comp. §§. 28. 29.

§. 42. In all other cases the short vowels are subject to the following changes. Through heightening<sup>1</sup> *a* is changed to *ā* or *ā̄*, *i* to *ē*, *u* to *ō* 1) in an *accented closed syllable*, and indeed always with *i* and *u* (comp. קָבִידָה *kāβēd* = *kabida*, קָטֹן *qātōn* = *qaṭuna*, זָקִין *zāqēn* = *zaqinum*, יִקְטֹל *yiqṭōl* = *yaqṭulu*), with *a* for the most part only in the pause and in the *stat. abs.*, while this vowel otherwise usually remains short. Comp. דָּבָר *dāβār* = *dabarun*, but the *stat. cstr.* דְּבַר *dēβar* = *dabaru*, further קָטֵל *qātāl* = *qaṭala*, סַבְּבִי *sābbū*. Other short vowels in accented closed syllables are only the *i* in יָם *'im* and יָם *'im*, as well as the *e*, which has arisen from *i* = *u*, in pronouns and suffixes of the 2. and 3. persons plural.<sup>2</sup> 2) Further the *open tone syllable* is heightened (Exceptions in §. 45), e. g. סוּסָה *sūsā* from *sūsāt*, חָרְסָה *hā-'ā-r(e)š*, אֲרָסָה *'ā-r(e)š* from *'arṣun*, סֵפֶר *sē-φ(e)r* from *sip-run*, קוֹדֶשׁ *qō-δ(e)š* from *qud-šun*, יִלְלָה *yīl-lā* from

<sup>1</sup> The heightening is merely a mechanical strengthening of the vowel through an *a*, which is placed before it and which finds its complete analogy in the Indo-Germanic *Guna* and the pronunciation of vowels in new high German and modern English.

<sup>2</sup> Olshausen accepts for such forms, as אֲתֵם *'attem*, סוּסֵהֶם *sūsēhem* etc. the heightened sound *ā̄* (from *a*) and appeals to the anomalous instances of vocalization in Ezechiel (§. 7); nevertheless his position is contradicted by the contraction of *bā-hēm* to בָּם *bām*, the forms *hēm*, *hēn*, the Samaritan pronunciation and the analogy of all the other Semitic languages.

*yagla[vu]*. 3) The open syllable before the tone is also mostly heightened (exceptions in §. 43), e. g. לְשׁוֹן *mā-sāl* from *ma-sa-lun*, לְבַב *lē-βāβ* from *li-ba-bun*, לְלַחַת *qā-tál* from *qa-ta-la*, 4) but the second syllable before the tone is very rarely heightened e. g. in לְחֵי *'ā-nō-χí*, לְחֵי *qā-tē-lú*, and before the perfect with *vav consecutivum*: וְלֵחַי *vē-'ā-mar-tā*. Finally 5) heightening enters in the syllable after the tone, compare וְלֵחַי *qā-tál-tā*.

§. 43. On the contrary the short vowels are volatilized to half vowels (ē, ĩ, ě, ǝ): 1) in the second syllable before the tone, as well as before those which are at a greater remove from it (e. g. לְשׁוֹן *qē-tā-ló'* from *qaṭalahú*, דְּבָרִי *dē-βā-rí* from *dabarí*, דְּבָרִים *dē-βā-rím*, לְחֵי *qē-tú-lím*, קְטֹלֵם *qē-tú-lé-hém*); 2) in some cases also in the fore-tone syllable, namely a) throughout in the *status constructus*, e. g. דְּבַר *dē-βār*, יְמֵי *yē-mé*, יַצַּח *'ā-çúṣ*, מוֹד *šē-mó*, because the first member of the *status constructus* only possesses a secondary accent, b) in some nominal forms especially with *i* or *u* (in general *i* is often, *u* almost always volatilized in an open fore-tone syllable), e. g. לְחֵי *qó-tē-lím* from *qâtilím*, חָצִי *hāçí* from *hiçyun*, חֵלִי *hō-lí* from *hulyun*, אֵרִי *'ā-rí* from *'aryun*; c) in the verbal forms לְחֵי *qā-tē-lá*, לְחֵי *qā-tē-lú*, יִיקְלֵי *yiq-tē-lú*, d) before the suffixes *ká*, *kém*, *kén*, comp. סוּסֵי *sú-sē-çá*, סוּסֵי *sú-sē-çém*.

§. 44. Since two half vowels are not allowed to follow each other in Hebrew, the syllable before the volatilized vowel can retain its short vowel e. g. בְּנֵפֶל *bi-nē-çól*, דִּבְרֵי *di-βē-ré*, דִּבְרֵי *di-βē-ré-hém*, בִּרְעֵי *bi-rē-çó*. It is heightened only in the forms לְחֵי *qā-*

$t\check{e}$ - $l\acute{a}$ , קָטַלְו  $qa$ - $t\check{e}$ - $l\acute{u}$ ' and mostly before the suffix  $\check{e}$ - $\chi\acute{a}$ , e. g. דְּבַרְךָ  $d\check{e}$ - $\beta\bar{a}$ - $r\check{e}$ - $\chi\bar{a}$ , yet also שִׁמְעֵ- $\chi\acute{a}$ .

§. 45. Moreover short vowels occur in open syllables only 1) in the suffix  $\acute{a}$ - $n\acute{i}$ , e. g. קָטַלְו  $q\check{e}$ - $t\bar{a}$ - $l\acute{a}$ - $n\acute{i}$ ; 2) before the old accusative ending  $\bar{a}$ , e. g. מִדְּבַרְךָ  $mi\delta$ - $b\acute{a}$ - $r\bar{a}$ , in which cases accented  $a$  remains in an open syllable; 3) with monosyllabic nominal stems of *mediae gutturalis* or  $y\acute{o}\delta$ , which on account of §. 52 have taken an auxiliary vowel, because this auxiliary sound is not yet regarded as a full vowel which can form a syllable. Comp. נָחַל  $n\acute{a}h(a)l$ , בָּיַת  $b\acute{a}y(i)\bar{t}$ , such feminines also as שֹׁמֵא'  $\acute{s}\acute{o}m\acute{a}'(a)\bar{t}$  from  $s\acute{a}m\acute{a}'t$  follow the same analogy. Unheightened forms as יִיבֵן  $y\acute{i}\beta(e)n$ , יִירֵב  $y\acute{i}r(e)\beta$  stand in the apocopated future together with heightened forms, as יִיבֵל  $y\bar{a}\bar{y}(e)l$ , יִירֵב  $y\bar{e}r(e)\beta$  from  $yabn[a]$ ,  $yagl[a]$ ,  $yarb[a]$ . On the contrary the short vowel always remains 4) when the following half vowelled auxiliary sound has only been inserted to facilitate the pronunciation of a guttural, according to §. 55, even if this, according to §. 56, becomes a full vowel, because these auxiliary sounds originated too late, to affect the laws of the vowel sound. Comp. יִא'  $y\acute{a}'(\acute{a})$ - $m\acute{o}\delta$  from  $y\acute{a}'mudu$ , יִהֵל  $yeh(\acute{e})$ - $z\acute{a}q$  from  $yahzaqu$ , יִא'  $y\acute{a}'(\acute{a})$ - $l\acute{a}$  from  $y\acute{a}'la[yu]$ , יִא'  $n\acute{a}'(\acute{a})$ - $r\acute{o}$ ' from  $n\acute{a}'ra-h\acute{u}$ , יִפְּלִי  $po'(\acute{o})$ - $l\acute{i}'$  from  $pu'l\acute{i}$ , further יִא'  $y\acute{a}'(a)$ - $m\check{e}$ - $\delta\acute{u}$  ( $y\acute{a}'mud\acute{u}na$ ), יִהֵל  $yeh(e)$ - $z\check{e}$ - $q\acute{u}'$  ( $yahzaq\acute{u}na$ ), יִא'  $vay$ - $y\acute{a}'(a)l$  from  $vay\acute{a}'l[a]$ , יִא'  $n\acute{a}'(a)$ - $r\check{e}$ - $\chi\acute{e}m$ , יִפְּלִי  $po'(o)$ - $l\check{e}$ - $\chi\acute{e}m$ .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> \*It is certainly questionable whether such forms as יִפְּלִי, יִהֵל should not be pronounced  $p\bar{a}'\acute{o}l\acute{i}$ ,  $p\bar{a}'\acute{o}l\check{e}\chi\acute{e}m$ , since Metheg seems incompatible with Qāmeç  $h\acute{a}\check{t}\acute{u}\check{c}$ , and the Babylonians write these forms without the small line which is the sign of the short vowel. See Delitzsch in his preface to "Libri Iobi", ed. Baer, Lipsiae 1875, p. vi.

§. 46. Independently of the exceptions given in §. 44 and 45 *short vowels can only stand in unaccented closed syllables*. Only *a* can remain short in all closed syllables (§. 42). If the short vowel retains its character, *u* (except in a sharpened syllable) is almost always modified to *o*, *i* frequently to *e*. Comp. וַיָּקָם *vay-yá-qom* (*va-ya-qum*), וַיָּבֵן *vay-yá-βen* (*va-ya-bin*), קִדְשֵׁי *qod-ší'* (*qudší*), הֵפְרָי *hef-ří* (*hip-ří*), וְזֶזְזוּ *'uz-zó'*, סִפְרוּ *siř-ró'*. The vowel *a* very frequently becomes *i* especially in a sharpened syllable and in the case of §. 44: קִטְלֵל *qittél*, Arabic *qattala*, בְּרִי *bit-tí'* from בָּה *baḥ*, דִּבְרֵי *di-βě-ré'* from *dabaray*.

§. 47. The following vowel scheme is derived from the foregoing rules: 1) *a* remains unchanged in an originally closed syllable, 2) becomes *i* a) before the sharpening (§. 46), b) in open syllables before half vowels (§. 44 and 46) and in all other cases<sup>1</sup>; 3) it is volatilized in the second open syllable before the tone, and in the pretonic syllable of the *status constructus*; 4) it is heightened a) to  $\bar{a}$  in the closed tone-syllable of the *status absolutus* and in the open pretonic syllable, b) to  $\bar{a}$  in the monosyllabic nominal forms of the *tertiæ v, y* and in the future and participle of the stems of the same class of verbs. — The vowel  $\hat{a}$  more seldom retains its sound, since it generally becomes  $\acute{o}$ , which according to §. 40 can pass over into  $\acute{u}$  and *u* ( $\bar{o}$ ).

<sup>1</sup> The above-mentioned *i* shares the same fate as the original *i*, e. g. יְחִבָּשׁ *yehbás* = *yihbas* = *yahbas*, יְדַבֵּר *ye-dě-řém*, יְבֹשׁ *yē-βó's* = *yi-bóš* according to §. 42, 3, = *ya-bás* = *yabvas* according to §. 32, 2. The remarkable transition of *i*, which has arisen from *a*, to  $\hat{i}$  in the *hi'φil* has perhaps originated according to an erroneous analogy from the conjugation of the verbs *mediae v, y* where this *i* is phonetically legitimate.

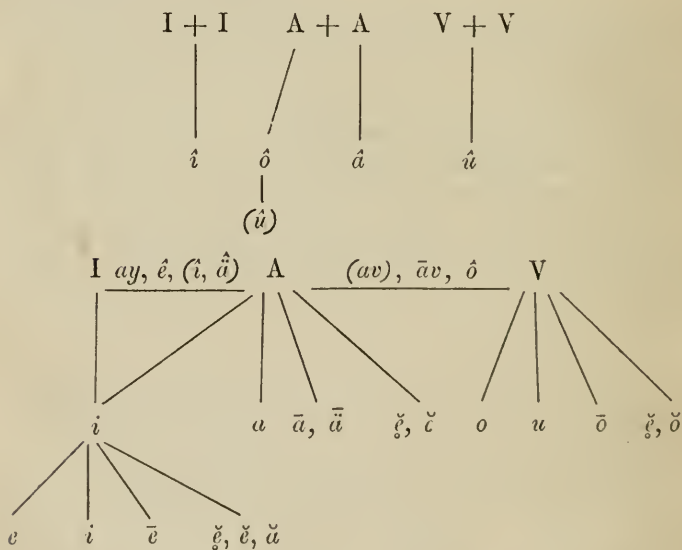
§. 48. The vowel *i*, a) almost always remains unchanged in a closed, unaccented syllable (§. 46); b) if no sharpening follows, it often becomes *e*. c) It undergoes volatilization in an open unaccented syllable, not unfrequently also before the tone (§. 43). d) It is heightened to  $\bar{e}$  in the tone-syllable and often in the open pretonic syllable (§. 42). — *i* always remains unchanged, in such forms except as  $\text{נְקִיּוּמ}$  *nəqiyūm* = *naqiyim*, where it becomes *iy*.

§. 49. The vowel *u*, a) scarcely ever remains unchanged except in a sharpened syllable (§. 41), b) almost always becomes *o* in a toneless closed syllable (§. 45 fin.); c) becomes volatilized in an open unaccented syllable (§. 43), and d) is heightened to  $\bar{o}$  in an accented (§. 42). Sometimes it passes over into *i* (*e*,  $\bar{e}$ ), thus in the imperative  $\text{קִטְלֹו}$  *qitlō'* = Arabic *qutlū* (the half vowel has penetrated the Hebrew word through the false analogy of the singular form),  $\text{עֲשֵׂה}$ ,  $\text{עָשֵׂה}$  *'attēm*, comp. §. 42, Remark 2. — *u* always remains unchanged.

§. 50. There are no real diphthongs in Hebrew. Original *ay*, *av* reject their consonants before a following vowel (§. 32), but if no vowel follows they are each contracted to  $\acute{e}$  and  $\acute{o}$  through vocalization ( $\text{בַּיְת}$  *béṯ* = *bayt*,  $\text{סִשְׁעִי}$  *súšé'* = *súsay*,  $\text{הַיְתִיב}$  *hét'ṯβ* = *hayt'ṯβ*,  $\text{גִּלְעָא}$  *gullé'ā* = *gullayta*,  $\text{מֹדַע}$  = *mart*,  $\text{נֹלָד}$  = *navlad*,  $\text{הוֹלִיד}$  *hól'ṯδ* = *havl'ṯδ*). The mixed vowel  $\acute{e}$  is in several forms thinned to *i* ( $\text{גַּלְיָא}$  *gāl'ṯā* from *galayta*) and appears sometimes to change its place with  $\acute{a}$  ( $\text{גַּלְנָא}$  *gǎl'nā*,  $\text{תִּגְלַנָּא}$  *tiḡlā'nā* = *taglayna*, comp. §. 33). The combination *a* + *i* always becomes  $\acute{e}$ , *a* + *u*  $\acute{o}$  ( $\text{מַרְיָא}$  *méṯ* = *marita*,  $\text{בֹּשֶׁת}$  *bōš* = *baruša*,  $\text{לוֹ}$  *lō* = *lahū*). — The combinations *ay*, *av* seldom remain (e. g.  $\text{לַחְמֵי}$   $\acute{e}$ ).

*šālávî*, שָׁלָוִי *šaddáy*, which is heightened in the pause שִׁדְדָי *šaddáy*, likewise אָנָּוִי (*ánáv*). It remains for the most part before original doubling (§. 34, 3) and in the *status absolutus* of monosyllabic nouns, where *ay*, *av* through the adoption of an auxiliary vowel become *áy(i)*, *áv(e)*. Compare בַּיִת *báy(i)* בית = *bayt*, מָוֶה *máv(e)* מוה = *mart*.

§. 51. The above may be represented in the following table of vowels:



The Latin uncial letters are chosen for the original Semitic in order to include *y*, *v*. The brackets indicate less common transitions of sound.

§. 52. Since a biconsonantal ending is only allowed in the few vowel combinations mentioned in §. 30; it is frequently necessary in Hebrew that after the

falling away of the old final vowels (§. 37) an auxiliary vowel should enter between the two new final consonants, and indeed most commonly an *e* with the heightening of the preceding vowel according to §. 42, 2, whereby *a* (except in the stems mediae *v* and in the pause) does not become heightened to  $\bar{a}$ , but to  $\bar{a}$ .

Comp. מַרְתּוּן *már(e)ṣ* from *martun*, אַרְצוֹן *'ár(e)ṣ* from *'arṣun*, סִפְרוֹן *sēφ(e)r* from *siprun*, קֻדְשׁוֹן *qôḏ(e)š* from *qudšun*, קוֹטְלוֹן *qôṭál(e)ṣ* from *qátal-tun*, וַיִּצְלַח *vay-yáx(e)l* from *vayagl[a]*, וַיִּירָב *vay-yér(e)ḅ* from *vayirb[a]*, by the side of the unheightened form וַיִּירָב *vay-yir(e)ḅ*, comp. §. 45. In the stems mediae *y*, *i* is adopted as an auxiliary vowel without heightening, e. g. זַיְתוֹן *zay(i)ṣ* from *zaytun*. In the stems mediae and tertiae gutturalis *a* becomes the auxiliary, before which in the mediae gutturalis (as well as in general when the last consonant but one is a guttural) *a* is not heightened, comp. זַרְעוֹן *zár(a)ṣ* = *zar'un*, נַחְלוֹן *náh(a)l* = *nah'lun*, נִיחָנוֹן *néṣ(a)ḥ* = *niḥnun*, פּוֹלְעוֹן *pô'(a)l* = *pu'lun*, בְּרַחְתּוֹן *bôrah(a)ṣ* = *bárahtun*. If the last of the consonants in the final sound is an *y* or a *v* it is vocalized and the preceding vowel, when standing before final *y*, is volatitized, but before *v* it is heightened, when the word is a noun, comp. פְּרִיָּו *pěri'* from *paryun*, יְחִיָּו *yěhi'* from *yihy[a]*, תּוֹחִוֹן *tôhú* from *tuhvun*, וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה *vayyishtáhú* from *vayyistahv[a]*.

§. 53. *The gutturals readily adopt an a instead of the other short vowels in every case (especially before them, where this vowel was originally in use at least as a collateral form). E. g. יַחְמוֹדוֹן *yahmôḏ*, יִשְׁלַח *yislah*, שִׁלְלוֹן *šilláh* (nevertheless מְשַׁלְלֵוֹן *měšallē(a)ḥ*), יִצְאֵק *yiz'áq*, לַחְטוֹם *la-htôm*. Yet not only the vowel *a* occurs, but also the vowel *e*, which has arisen through phonetic*

retrogression from *i*, especially for the sake of rendering the first vowel unlike the one immediately following, provided it is or originally was *a*, e. g.  $\text{יְהִבָּשׁ}$  *yehbāš* from *yihbas*, *yahbas*,  $\text{יְהִזָּי}$  *yeh(ě)zā* from *yihzay*, *yahzay*. Pašah furtive is inserted between a long, or even in some cases a heightened vowel, and final *h* ' *h* e. g.  $\text{רִוּחַ}$  *rú(a)h*,  $\text{יָדוּחַ}$  *yādú(a)'*,  $\text{עֶלּוֹחַ}$  'éló(a)h. — The half guttural *r* does not have so strong a preference for *a*, yet e. g.  $\text{וַיַּיָּר}$  *vayyar*' occurs together with  $\text{יִיר'וּ}$  *yir'ú* and even the *fut. apocop.*  $\text{הִיפ'וּל}$  *hiḥ'íl*  $\text{וַיַּיָּסַר}$  *vayyásar* together with *věyásar*, shortened from  $\text{יָסַר}$  *yāsír*' *r*. — The stems *tertia* *r*, *y* and a part of the stems *primae* *n*, *primae* *v*, *y* and *tertia* 'áleφ manifest a decided preference for the forms with *a*.

§. 54. A half vowel under the gutturals (except *r*) always becomes *šěvā compositum* so that if the original vowel was *a*, it is changed to *ǎ*, if *i*, to *ě*, if *u*, to *ǒ*. Comp.  $\text{אָרִי}$  'árí' from *ary*,  $\text{עֶלּוֹ'}$  'éló'(a)h from 'ilá'h,  $\text{הֹלִי}$  hólí' from *huly*,  $\text{שָׁחַטוּ}$  šāhūtú from *ša-ḥatúna*. If the half vowel was first inserted in Hebrew as an auxiliary sound to facilitate the pronunciation (as is the case in the transposed radical forms *qtal*, *qtíl*, *qtul* = *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*), *ǎ* is chosen; *ě* is only placed after 'áleφ and in the root *havay*, *hayay*. Comp.  $\text{מֹד}$  '(ǎ)mód = 'mud,  $\text{כּוֹל}$  '(ě)χól = 'kul,  $\text{חַי}$  h(ě)yé = *hyay*.

§. 55. The Hebrew is fond of inserting a half vowel, which conforms to its predecessor, between a guttural (except *r*) and a consonant in order to render the guttural more perspicuous e. g.  $\text{יְהִזָּאֵק}$  *yeh(ě)záq* = *yihzaq*,  $\text{יְהִשָּׁב}$  *yah(ǎ)sób* = *yahšub*,  $\text{הֵמִיד}$  *he(ě)míd* = *hěmíd*,  $\text{יְהִמִּיד}$  *ya(ǎ)míd* = *ya'míd*,  $\text{הוֹרָם}$  *hoh(ǒ)rám* = *huhram*,  $\text{נְרָח}$  *n'a(ǎ)ró* = *nárahú*,  $\text{פּוֹלִי}$  *pó(ǒ)lí* = *pu'lí*.



This half vowel can be left out especially after *h*, e. g. *יְחֻזַּק* *yehzâq*, *יְחַשֵּׁב* *yahšôḅ*.<sup>1</sup>

§. 56. This half vowel which originated in Hebrew must according to §. 44, when followed by another half vowel, become a full short vowel. E. g. *נֶעְרָבָם* *na-(a)rě-χem*, *פּוֹ-לֶגָּא* *po-(o)-lē-χā*, *יְחֻזַּק* *yeh(e)-zěqû'*, *יְחַשֵּׁב* *yah(a)-šěχû'*, *יּוֹ-בְדוּ* *yo-(o)ḅěḏû'* together with *יְחֻזַּק* *yeh-zěqû'*, *יְחַשֵּׁב* *yahšěḅû'*, comp. §. 55.

§. 57. The vowels *ě*, *e*, which have arisen according to §§. 54—56, are often simplified to *ă*, *a*, when the tone is moved forward, since *a* as a simple sound is shorter than the mixed sound *e* from *a* + *i*. Comp. *אֵלַי* 'ělē' from *ilay*, with *אֵלֶיכֶם* 'ălélēχēm, *הֵעֵמְדֵתִי* *he'(ě)-mádti*, with *וְהֵעֵמְדֵתִי* *věha'(ă)máḏ-ti'*, *יֵסֹר* *ye'(ě)sôr*, with *יֵסֹרֶיהָ* *ya'(a)sěru'há*.

§. 58. In composition the prepositions retain according to §. 44 their short vowel and are not volatilized, when a half vowel follows. Comp. *בִּי-פְרִי'* *bi-φěri'*, *לִי-פְרִי'* *li-φěri'*, *הַמְעַט* *ha-mě'at*. The short vowel before a compound *šěvā* is assimilated to it (the reverse occurs in the inflection according to §. 55), comp. *לְאַרִי* *la'-ări*, *לְאֹל* *le'(ě)χól*, *לְהֹלִי* *lo-hōli'*.

§. 59. The elision of a vowel, except at the end of a word, occurs only rarely in Hebrew. The

<sup>1</sup> The auxiliary vowel *a* which is inserted between *‘*, *h* and *d*, *t* when at the end of a word, is of still later origin and cannot effect any aspiration (§. 24), comp. *שָׁלַחַת* *šālah(a)t*, *יְחַד* *yih(a)d*. — A series of new syllables arises in Hebrew as follows, 1) the transposed forms *qtal*, *qtıl*, *qtul* receive a half vowel in order to render the pronunciation possible, compare §. 54, 2) the forms *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl* form their plural from *qatal*, *qital*, *qutal*.

elision of the vowels in the cases mentioned in §. 26, 2 and §. 61 was characteristic even of the primitive Semitic. Yet such forms as בִּרְכָה *bir-ká* from *barakat* occur. Such gerundial infinitives as לִנְפֹל *li-npōl*, do not belong here, since the infinitive first became dissyllabic in Hebrew through the insertion of a half vowel, and those forms have preserved the original vocalization.

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### III.

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE FORMATION OF STEMS.

§. 60. It does not lie within the province of Hebrew grammar to trace the secondary formation of roots, which entered in a pre-Semitic age, to their monosyllabic originals (§. 2). Except the pronouns nothing now remains of these original radices but fragments, which have been expanded to the present roots, and which almost always consist of three consonants.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it is incumbent on us to prove two things: 1) how, in the formation of stems, themes have arisen from these secondary roots which mostly combine the nominal and verbal significations in them-

<sup>1</sup> The present Semitic roots have probably arisen from the original: 1) through reduplication, 2) through combination with different prefixes and affixes, which also partly occur in the formation of stems and words, comp. *האב sibi voluit, desideravit*, compounded of the reflexive prefix *ta* and the original root *ab* (in *אבר voluit*), *כרל potuit* from *wa* and *kal, kul* (in *כרל, כלכל*), 3) through a pervasive analogy, which by the insertion of an auxiliary sound rendered the remainder of the monosyllabic roots similar to the others. — The comparatively infrequent Quadri-litera have likewise arisen from the triliteral roots partly through reduplication or affixion, partly through the mere decomposition of a double consonant as in *כרסב decerpit* from *כרסב*.

selves, partly through seeming internal inflection, and partly through prefixes; 2) how these stems through the prefixes and affixes in the formation of words received a definite character as nouns and verbs. Finally another stratum, as it were, in this agglutinative process is formed by suffixion in the narrower sense i. e. through the annexation of the personal pronoun in an objective (accusative) or subjective (genitive) signification.

§. 61. In the primitive Semitic, although not in the Hebrew, comp. §. 59, it was allowed, for the sake of euphony, to suppress the short vowel of a syllable on placing a prefix before it or an affix after it, unless two consonants would thus occur at the end of a syllable (§. 30). We find, for example, in the formation of roots *qatla* together with *qatala*, in the formation of stems *ma-qatala* for *ma-qatala* and in the formation of words such feminines as *qatal-ta* together with *qatala-ta*, but always only *qatla-ta*, never *qatl-ta*.

§. 62. The form *qatla*, which has arisen according to §. 61, together with its modifications *qitla* and *qutla*, can by virtue of the vague character of Semitic vowels, be transposed to *qtala*, *qtila*, *qtula*. This transposition is occasioned either as in the imperative according to §. 30 through the falling away of the final vowel, or as in the future, according to §. 61, through a prefix. Thus arise the imperative *qtul* for *qutl*, the future *ya-qtula* and *ya-qtul* for *ya-qutla* and *ya-qutl*.

§. 63. The oldest form in which the stem of triliteral roots appears is *qatala*. It underlies the perfect and the original active participle *qal* of verbs, and is the primitive form of nouns especially of attributive adjectives and abstracts. According to the Hebrew laws

of sound this form must either become *qātāl* or *qātāl* (§. 37. 42); the former takes place in the perfect, the latter in the *status absolutus* of nouns. Comp.  $\text{חָמַן}$  *hā-χām sapuit*,  $\text{חָכֵם}$  *hā-χām sapiens*, but in the *status constructus*  $\text{חָמַן}$  *hāχām* according to §. 43. If the second or third consonant was a *v* or *y*, it was almost always elided according to §. 32, comp.  $\text{קָם}$  *qām surrexit* and *surgens* = *qa[v]ama*,  $\text{אַלָּה}$  *'alā folium* = *'ala[va]*.

§. 64. The parallel forms *qatila* and *qatula*, Heb. *qātél* and *qātól* according to §. 42, which are usually found in the perfect, and in the active participle of intransitive verbs, arise through the weakening of the second *a* to *i* or *u*. Compare  $\text{קָרַב}$  *qārēḇ appropinquabat* and *appropinquans* = *qariba*,  $\text{קָטֹן}$  *qātôn parvus erat* and *parvus* = *qatuna*. In roots mediae *v*, *y* the *v* or *y* are elided according to §. 32; e. g.  $\text{מָהַר}$  *mēḥ moriebatur* and *mortuus* = *ma[v]ita*,  $\text{בוֹשׁ}$  *bōš pudefiebat* and *pudefactus* = *ba[v]uša*.

§. 65. If the *a* of the first syllable was weakened to *i* the parallel form *qitala* arose, which in Hebrew in the *stat. absol.* become *qētāl* according to §. 42. Comp.  $\text{לִבָּב}$  *lēḇāḇ cor* = *libaba*. — The form *qutala* rarely occurs except as the plural of *qutla* (§. 70).

§. 66. The active participle *qaḷ*, which has still retained the short vowel of the first syllable in the stems of the mediae *v*, *y* and in the intransitive verbs (§. 63, 64), lengthens it in all other stems to *á*<sup>1</sup>, through

<sup>1</sup> In general the lengthening of the vowel of the tone-syllable in primitive Semitic is just as readily employed to distinguish the nominal from the verbal forms, as the heightening of the vowel in Hebrew (§. 63).

which the forms *qátala* and *qátıla*, Heb. *qótál* and *qótél* according to §. 42. 40, arise. The latter is the common form since *a* through the preponderance of the preceding long vowel is weakened to *i*. The former is usual in the stems of the *tertiæ* *v*, *y*, and in the feminines formed according to §. 61. Comp. עולם *'ólám saeculum* = *'álama*, הוֹזֵא *hózã* *videns* = *hãza[ya]*, שׁוֹמֵא *šómá(a)* *audiens* = *šamá'-ta*, דּוֹבֵר *dôbêr* *loquens* = *dábira*.

§. 67. The form *qatála*, Heb. *qātól*, which is also used as the infinitive absolute *qal*, arises from *qatala* through the lengthening of the second vowel. Compare כְּבוֹד *kābô'd* *gloria* = *kabáda*, הֵלֵךְ *hālô'x* *ambulare* = *haláka*. The usual vocal laws are applied in the stems of the *mediæ* or *tertiæ* *v*, *y*, comp. מוֹת *mô't* *mori* = *ma[r]áta* (§. 32), רָאוּ *rã'u'* *videre* = *ra'á[y]a-ta*, גָּלוֹ' *gālô'* *revelare* = *galá[r]a*. — In like manner *qatıla* and *qatúla*, Heb. *qātíl*, *qātúl* are lengthened forms of the intransitive *qatıla*, *qatula*, from which through the relationship of the passive and intransitive significations, the latter serves as the passive participle *qal*, while the former with a like signification has more of a substantive character. Comp. אֲסִיר *'ásû'r* *captivatus* = *'asû'ra*, אֲסִיר *'ásû'r* *captivus* = *'asûra*, שָׁמ *šûm* *positus* = *ša[y]ûma* (§. 32), נָקִי *nãqî'* *innocens* = *naqûya*, but אֲשִׁי *'aşûy* *factus* = *'aşûva* (§. 31). — The following forms arise through the modification of the first short vowels to *i* or *u*: 1) *qitála* or *qutála*; Heb. according to §. 43<sup>b</sup>, *qětál* mostly *qětól*; 2) *qitıla*, Heb. *qětil* and 3) *qutúla*, Heb. *qětúl*. Comp. כֶּתֵב *kě'tãb* *liber* = *kitába*, אֱלֹה *'élô(a)h* *Deus* = *'iláha*, גִּבִּיר *gěbîr* *dominus* = *gibîra*, לְבִישׁ *lěbûš* *vestis* = *lubûša*. But after *'Aleph* the half vowel is readily again transformed into the full vowel *ē*, since

otherwise the syllable would be hardly audible, comp.  $\text{רָזָר} \text{ 'ezó'r cingulum} = \text{'izára}$ .

§. 68. The form *qatla*, which has arisen according to §. 61, including its modifications *qitla* and *qutla*, are used in the formation of the imperative, construct infinitive and future *qal*, as follows: 1) *qutla* is the fundamental form of the usual transitives, 2) *qitla* of a class of the stems *primae v*, 3) and *qatla* not only of the intransitives, and the stems *mediae* and *tertiaie gutturalis* (see §. 53), but also of the stems *tertiaie v, y, tertiae*  $\bar{\text{Ale}}\phi$  and the most of the *primae v, y*, since the changes, which these forms experienced in consequence of vocal laws, prevented them from being influenced after the analogy of the other forms and enabled them to retain the original vowel. — The imperative and the apocopated future ended even in primitive Semitic with the last consonant, while the final vowel was rejected. — The transposition *qtala, qtila, qtula* mentioned in §. 62 always occurs in the verb except a special formation in the *mediae geminatae*, and before endings, joined to the imperative and infinitive, of which the initial sound is a vowel. According to this transposition *qatla, qitla, qutla* become *qtala, qtila, qtula*, relatively *qtal, qtil, qtul*, which in Hebrew are changed through the insertion of an auxiliary vowel according to §. 30 to *qětál, qětél, qětól* provided no prefix precedes. Comp.  $\text{שָׁכַב} \text{ š(š)kaβ jacere} = \text{škaba}$  and *jace* = *škab*,  $\text{רָשָׁמַר} \text{ š(š)mōr observare} = \text{šmura}$  and *ob-serva* = *šmur*,  $\text{יִשְׁמֹר} \text{ yišmōr observabit} = \text{ya-šmura}$ , but  $\text{שָׁמְרָה} \text{ šom(š)rú observate} = \text{šumr-ú}$  (see §. 49),  $\text{יָשַׁב} \text{ yā-sôβ circumdabit} = \text{ya-subba}$  together with  $\text{יִשְׁבָּב} \text{ yissôβ} = \text{ya-sbuba}$ .

§. 69. In the noun the transcription to *qtala* takes

place less frequently, yet e. g. it appears in גַּבָּר *gəḇār* *vir* = *gbara*, which is a collateral form of גַּבְרָה *gāḇ(e)r* = *gabra*. The form *qtila* occurs especially in derivatives from stems *mediae* 'Aleφ and in feminines *primae v comp.* בְּעֵר *bē'ēr puteus* = *b'ira*, דְּעָא *dē'á scientia* = [*v*]dī'a-ta. But usually the original position *qatla*, *qitla*, *qutla* remains in the noun. These forms of course in Hebrew, after the falling away of the final vowel, when no affixes follow must take an auxiliary vowel mostly *e*, but before and after gutturals *a*, after Yôd *i*. In this manner the forms *qāt(e)l* (in pausa usually according to §. 21 *qāt(e)l*), *qēt(e)l* and *qōt(e)l* arise, compare מַלְךְ *māl(e)χ rex* = *malka*, יָרַח *yār(a)ḥ mensis* = *yarḥa*, סֵפֶר *sēφ(e)r liber* = *sipra*, נֶעֶץ *nēç(a)ḥ aevum* = *niçha*, קֹדֶשׁ *qōḏ(e)š sanctuarium* = *quḏša*, עֵצַל *pō'(a)l opus* = *pu'la*. The *a* is heightened to *ā* before *v*, and remains short before gutturals, as well as before *y*. Compare מָרָה *mār(e)ḥ mors* = *marva*, בַּיְתָה *bay(i)ḥ domus* = *bayta*, נַחַל *naḥ(a)l rivus* = *nahla*, see §. 45. — The double consonant which has arisen from the stems *mediae geminatae* and *mediae n* must (§. 30) lose its doubling at the end of a word, e. g. הֻקַּח *ḥōq statutum* = *ḥuqqa*, אַפַּח *'aφ furor* = *'appa*, *'anpa*, יָם *yam mare* = *yamma*. A *v* or *y* as second consonant is always softened into a vowel after *i*, *u*, also after *a* with the exception, in most cases, of the *status absolutus*. The resulting long vowel is of course unchangeable. Comp. דִּין *dīn iudicium* = *diyna*, חֹרֶץ *ḥûç platea* = *ḥurça*, *st. constr.* בַּיְתָה *bēḥ domus* = *bayta*, *st. constr.* מוֹרָה *mōḥ mors* = *marva*. As third radical consonants *v*, *y* (§. 52) are also softened into their corresponding vowels. The original vowel before *y*, except in pausa, is volatilized, before *v* it is heightened. Compare גַּדִּי *gəḏi hoedus* = *gadya*, in pausa גַּדִּי *gāḏi*; חֲצִי *ḥāçi dimidium* = *ḥiçya*, in pausa חֲצִי *ḥéçi*; חֹלִי *ḥōli morbus* = *ḥulya*, in pausa



הָלוֹלִי *hólî*; תּוֹהוּ *tóhû* *solitudo* = *tuhva*. The duals and feminines throughout, and with rare exceptions the forms before suffixes proceed from the original stem, not from that which was changed according to merely Hebrew vocal laws. Compare מַלְכוֹת *malkó' rex ejus* = *malka-hû*, סִפְרוֹ *sipró' liber ejus* = *sipra-hû*, קֹדֶשׁוֹ *qod-šó' sanctuarium ejus* = *qudša-hû*, מַלְכּוֹתָ *malkú regina* = *malka-ta* שְׂבִיָּה *šibýá* = *šabya-ta* from שְׂבִי *šəḇî captivitas* = *šabya*. Nevertheless the feminine is also formed in שְׂבִיָּה *šəḇî-á* and שְׂבִיָּיָה *šəḇîyyá* = *šəḇî-á* from the changed form.

§. 70. In Hebrew the stems *qatla*, *qitla*, *qutla* have no plural, but always derive it from the forms *qatala*, *qitala*, *qutala*. Compare מַלְכֵי *məḷāḫîm reges* = *malak-î-ma*, *st. constr.* מַלְכֵי *maləḫê* = *malaka-y*, fem. מַלְכוֹת *məḷāḫó' reginae*, *st. constr.* מַלְכוֹת *maləḫó' = malak-âta*, סִפְרוֹת *səḫpārîm libri* = *sipar-î-m*, *st. constr.* סִפְרוֹת *sipəřê* = *sipara-y*, קֹדֶשֶׁת *qōdāšîm sanctuaria* = *qudaš-î-m* (ö sometimes also stands after non-gutturals), *st. constr.* קֹדֶשֶׁת *qodəřšê* = *qudaša-y*, יְדָיִם *ğəḏāyi'm hoedi* = *ga-day-î-m*, הַלָּאִים *həḷāyim morbi* = *hulay-î-m*. Of course those forms are excepted, which even in primitive Semitic had received a long vowel, diphthong or double consonant, and so had become unchangeable. E. g. חִיצוֹת *hūḥō' plateae* = *huvç-ât*, שִׁירִים *šîrîm cantica* = *šiyr-î-m*, אֵיָּלִים *'ēlîm arietes* = *'ayl-î-m* from the sing. אֵיל *'ay(i)l*, הַקָּיִם *həqqîm leges* = *həqq-î-m*. Forms of this kind have a dissyllabic stem only seldom in the plural, comp. שְׂוָרִים *šəvārîm tauri* = *savar-î-m* from שׂוֹר *šór* = *šavra*, הַיָּלִים *həyālîm exercitus* = *hayal-î-m* from הַיֵּל *hay(i)l* = *hayla*.

§. 71. Conversely the form *qatila* often derives its *st. constr.* from *qatla*, or its transposed form *qtala* (§. 62), compare קַתִּיפָה *kāṭēḫ umerus* = *katipa*, *st. constr.*

קָטַף  $k\bar{a}ṭṭ(e)ṣ$  = *katpa*, זָקַן  $z\bar{a}q\bar{e}n$  *senex* = *zaqina*, *st. constr.*  
 זָקַן  $z(\check{e})qan$  = *zqana*.

§. 72. Several nouns which are frequently used (as פֶּה  $p\bar{a}$  *os*, *st. constr.* פִּי  $p\bar{i}$ , דָּג  $d\bar{a}ḡ$  *piscis*, דָּם  $d\bar{a}m$  *sanguis*, בֶּן  $b\bar{e}n$  *filius*, בַּת  $b\bar{a}ṭ$  = *ban-t filia*, עֵץ  $\bar{e}ṣ$  *lignum*, רֵעַ  $r\bar{e}(a)$  *amicus*, יָד  $y\bar{a}ḏ$  *manus*, שֵׁם  $\bar{s}e\bar{m}$  *nomen*) always appear with only two stem-consonants, others (as אָב  $\bar{a}ḇ$  *pater*, *st. constr.* אָבִי  $\bar{a}ḇ\bar{i}$ , אָח  $\bar{a}ḥ$  *frater*, *st. constr.* אָחִי  $\bar{a}ḥ\bar{i}$ ) indicate only in some forms traces of a third consonant. It seems however that one must consider these nouns as belonging to a class which already at a very early period lost its third consonant, but not as the remnants of original monosyllabic and bi-consonantal roots. Such remnants occur, except in the pronoun, only in the *pilpēl*, where the monosyllabic primary root became a quadriliteral through doubling and as such could also maintain its existence in the later trilateral period of the language (§. 73).

§. 73. The forms, which have arisen from the reduplication of the root and which are cognate with the *pi'ēl*, are common to the noun as well as the verb. Actual repetition of the entire root in its original monosyllabic form appears in the *pilpēl*, which in some of the stems *med. v* and *med. gemin.* takes the place of the *pi'ēl*. Comp. כָּלַךְ  $k\bar{a}l\bar{k}\bar{e}l$  *nutrire*, כִּיל־כֵּל  $k\bar{i}l\bar{k}\bar{e}l$  *nutrivit* = *kal-kila*, *kil-kila*, in the passive כֻּל־כֹּל  $k\bar{u}l\bar{k}\bar{u}l$  *nutriebatur* (present secondary root כוּל), גָּל־גָּל  $g\bar{a}l\bar{g}\bar{a}l$  *rota* (present root גלל). Through an abbreviation of the root the reduplicated form *qatal-tala* arose, comp. סָהַרְהַר  $s\bar{e}ḥ\bar{a}r\bar{h}\bar{a}r$  *pulpitarit* = *sahar-hara*. In the stems *med. v*, *y* the still more abbreviated form *qatlala* stands for the *pi'ēl*, e. g. מוֹדְדֵד  $m\bar{o}ḏ\bar{d}\bar{e}ḏ$  *interficere* and *interfecit*

= *mar-t-ita*, pass. רוֹמַם *rômâm exaltabatur* = *ravm-ama*,  
 שָׁא'נָן *ša'(ǎ)nán quietus* = *ša'n-ana*.

§. 74. The fundamental form of the pi'ĕl and its cognate nouns *qattala* (Hebr. *qattál*) has probably arisen from *qatlala*. It occurs unchanged in the infin. constr., imperat. and fut. pi'ĕl of the stems *tert. gutt.* and *tert. v, y, 'e.* g. שָׁלַח *šalláh mitte* = *šalláh* and *mittere* = *šallaha*, which is weakened to *qattila* (Hebr. *qattél*) in the same verbal forms in other roots, comp. דָּבַר *dab-bér loquere* = *dabbir* and *loqui* = *dabbira*. In the perfect of the pi'ĕl the form is *qittala* or *qittila* (Hebr. *qittál, qittél*), the latter of which in nouns indicates abnormal characteristics. Comp. שִׁלַח *šilláh emisit*, דִּבַּר *dibbér loquebatur* = *dibbira*, עִוְוַר *'ivvér coecus* = *'irvira*. The passive has *quttala*, comp. שִׁלַח *šulláh mittebatur*. — The form *qâtila*, pass. *qâtala* (Hebr. *qôtél, qôtál*) which takes the place of the pi'ĕl in the stems *med. gemin.* appears to have arisen through compensative lengthening from *qattala*, e. g. סָבַב *sôþéþ circumdedit* and *circumdare* = *sábiba*, סָבַב *sôþáþ circumdabatur* and *circumdari* = *sábaba*. — The nominal forms are distinguished here as elsewhere through the lengthening of the second vowel, which in the *stat. cstr.* is still sometimes short. Thus arises the form *qattâla*, which serves in the pi'ĕl as an *infin. absol.*, and which in nouns expresses habitual characteristics, Hebr. *qattâl*, in the infin. *qattól*. Comp. גָּנַב *gannâþ fur*, בָּרַךְ *bârô'x benedicere* = *barrâka*. *Qit-tâla* (Hebr. *qittól*, comp. גִּבּוֹר *gibbô'r heros* = *gibbâra*) appears as a collateral form, from which through compensative lengthening instead of the doubling the form *qîtâla* (Hebr. *qîtól*) arose, comp. קִיטוֹר *qîtô'r fumus* = *qîtâra* = *qittâra*. The form *quttâla* is used for the infin. absol. of the passive (Hebr. *quttól*, comp. גִּנָּב *gunnôþ furto abstrahi* = *gunnâba*). — If the second

vowel was already weakened to *i* or *u* the forms *qattîla* and *qattûla* also *qittûla* arose through lengthening. Comp. *צַדִּיק* *ṣaddîq* *justus*, *חַנּוּן* *ḥannûn* *misericors*, *שִׁקּוּץ* *šiqqûṣ* *abominatio*.

§. 75. The prefixes of the stem-formation *ha*, *hin* (*na*) and *hit* are common to the noun and verb. The prefix *ha* has probably arisen from *sa* (which still appears in the Hebr. *סַנְוֵרִים* *sanvērîm* *coecitas* = *sanvir-î-m*, *שַׁלְחָה* *šalhâ(e)* *flamma* = *ša-lhab-ta*) and has a causative signification. If it is prefixed to the verbal stem the customary hiḳ'îl forms *ha-qtala* or *ha-qtîla* arise (§. 61), with the weakening of the vowel of the prefix *hi-qtala* or *hi-qtîla*, also *ha-qtîla* and *hi-qtîla* according to §. 47 remark, for the passive *hu-qtala* and *hu-qtîla*. Examples: *הַרְבֵּה* *harbê'* *multiplica* = *harbay*, *הִרְבָּה* *hirbâ* *multiplicavit* = *hi-rba[ya]*, *הַשְׁמִד* *haš-mêd* *devasta* = *ha-šmid*, *הִשְׁמִד* *hišmîd* *devastavit* = *hi-šmîda*, *הִכְשַׁל* *huḫšâl* *lapsus est* = *hu-kšala*, *הֵיכָל* *hêḫâl* *templum* = *ha-ykala*.<sup>1</sup> The form *ha-qtâla* (§. 7) is rare, as in *הַצָּלָה* *haṣṣâlâ* *salvatio* = *ha-ṣâla-ta*. Sometimes the prefix *ha* is changed to 'a, comp. *אֶזְכָּרָה* 'azkârâ *commemoratio* = 'a-zkâra-ta. Other forms with prefixed 'a or 'i are probably only of euphonic origin (§. 30) or have arisen from the transposition of the vowel, comp. *אַרְבַּע* 'arba' *quatuor* = *rba'a*, *אֶצְבָּע* 'eṣba' *digitus* = 'i-ṣba'a, *עֶזְרָה* 'ezrô(a) = 'izrâ = *zirâ'a*.

§. 76. The prefix *na*, which is employed for the niḳ'îl, appears when the following consonant retains its vowel in the form *hin*, whose *n* is always assimil-

<sup>1</sup> \*The Assyriologists consider this not as an original Semitic, but as an Accadian word which signifies *great house*. It has however certainly been hebraized.

ated; thus arise the stems *na-qtala*, *ni-qtala*, together with *hin-qatala*, *hin-qatila*, in the *infin. absol.* also *hin-qatâla*. Comp. נִצְרָץ *na'(ā)rāç timendus* = *na'raça*, נִבְרָךְ *niḅrāç benedictus est* = *nibraka*, חִמְּשָׁהּ *himmāšāḥ ungi* = *hin-mašāḥa*, חִנְּהֵם *hinnāḥēm misereri* = *hin-naḥima*, חִנְּתָנָה *hinnāšō'n dari* = *hin-natâna*.

§. 77. The prefix *hit* (Hebr. *hiḏ*), which has a reflexive signification, and is perhaps etymologically related to the particle *hi*, scarcely ever occurs in Hebrew except before the *pi'el* and its cognate verbal forms. Comp. חִדְּמָהּ *hiḏmahmē(a)ḥ cunctatus est* = *hit-mah-mih*, חִדְּנַקְרָהּ *hiḏnakkēr se dissimulare* = *hit-nakkira*. The prefix *ta* before nominal forms appears to have had another origin (§. 79).

§. 78. The prefix *ma* only belongs to the nominal formation. It has an indefinite signification and is identical with the affix of the vocable formation which has the same sound. Before the simple stem it commonly indicates the action, the place or the instrument. Thus arise the forms *ma-qtala*, *ma-qtila*, *ma-qtula*; *mi-qtala*, *mi-qtila*, *ma-qtâla*, *mi-qtâla*, *ma-qtûla*. Comp. מַחְמָד *maḥmād desiderium* = *ma-ḥmada*, מִדְּבָר *miḏbār desertum* = *mi-dbara*, מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbē(a)ḥ ara* = *mi-zbiḥa*, מִקְלוֹל *miqlól perfectio* = *mi-klâla*, מַלְבֹּשׁ *malbúš vestis* = *malbúša*. — The same prefix *ma* before the stem which has been doubled or increased through *ha*, *hit* (*pi'el*, *pa'el*, *pilpël*, *hiq'il*, *hišpa'el* and their passives) serves to indicate the participle, but is then weakened to *mu*, which in Hebrew is volatilized to *më*. After it the *h* of *ha* or *hit* is elided. Comp. מְדַבֵּר *mëḏabbēr loquens* = *mu-dabbira*, מְבֹרָךְ *mëḅōrāç benedictus* = *mu-burraka*, מְמוֹדֵד *mëmóšēḏ interficiens* = *mu-mart-ita*, מְחַרֵּם *māḥ(ā)rīm anathematizans* = *më-ha-ḥrīm*, pass.

מִחְרָם *moh(ō)rām* = *mǔ-ho-ḥram* = *mu-hu-ḥrama*, מִחְיָלֵד *miḥ-yallēd* *registro inscriptus* = *mǔ-ḥiḥ-yallēd* = *mu-hit-vallida*, מִחְמַמְעָה *miḥmahmē(a)h cunctans* = *mǔ-ḥiḥ-mah-mēh* = *mu-hit-mah-miha*.

§. 79. Probably *ya* and *ta* should be regarded as petrified prefixes of the vocable formation, which usually only occur before the future to indicate the third person masc. and fem., but which have in some cases maintained their existence as nominal prefixes from a period when as yet there was no sharp distinction between the noun and verb.<sup>1</sup> The last vowel is not unfrequently lengthened, as in Arabic, for the sake of distinguishing these forms from those of the future, comp. יִצְחָר *yīḥār oleum* = *ya-ḥara*, יַלְקֹט *yal-qūt pera*, תִּדְחָר *tiḏhār abies* = *ta-dhara*, תַּיְמַלֵּל *taymâl' retributio*, from the *hiḳ'il* תִּדְאָה *tôḏā laudatio* = *tǔ-ha-vdaya-t*.

§. 80. All the apparent affixes of the stems are merely petrified forms of the vocable formation. The indefinite *ma*, which usually becomes *na*, and before which the final vowel of the stem either falls away, remains, or is lengthened should be reckoned first of all under this class. Comp. סֻלָּם *sullām scala* = *sulla-m*, פִּדְיוֹן *pidyō'n solutio collateral* of פִּדְיוֹן *pidyō'n* = *pidyā-ma*, קֹרְבָן *qorbān sacrificium* = *qurba-na*, יִשְׂרָאֵל *yīsrā'el usus* = *yatrā-na*, כְּנָעַן *kəna(a)n* = *kna' -n*. In correspondence with its origin this affix stands after the feminine ending (e. g. לִירְעָאן *liryāśān* = *lirya-tu-na*) and falls away at the end of proper names, since these as such

<sup>1</sup> \*For a thorough discussion of this subject see "Dietrich's Abhandlungen zur hebräischen Grammatik", Leipzig 1846, S. 121—173.

have a definite signification, comp. שִׁילוֹן *šilōn'*, שִׁילוֹנִי *šilōnī'*.<sup>1</sup>

§. 81. The ending *ayya*, *iyya* which has arisen from the genitive of the plural (§. 90) serves in the formation of patronymics, gentiles, and other adjectives denoting a property. By appending the feminine affix *t* the ending *iyya* receives an abstract signification. The related ending *aya*, *ay* perhaps belong to the genitive sing. (§. 88). Comp. שְׂדַדַּי *šadday omnipotens* = *šadda-y-[ya]*, עִבְרִי *'ibri'*, properly ὁ εἰς Ἑβραίων, plur. עִבְרִיִּים *'ibriyyīm* = *'ibri-y-y-ū-m*, רֵאשִׁית *rēšī'* *principium* = *r'is-ī-t*; יִשְׁשָׁא *'iššā* = *'išša-[ya]*, properly τὸ τοῦ πτοκόζ. — Many abstracts are also formed by means of the ending *uvva*, which has arisen from the nominative plur. and to which the feminine affix is united. Comp. מַלְכֻּמָּה *malḡumā* *regnum* = *mala-ku-v-v-t*, plur. מַלְכֻּמָּוֹת *malḡumyō'* = *malaku-v-v-āt*; the derivation of this form from the dissyllabic stem indicates that it is properly a plural, comp. §. 70.

<sup>1</sup> The combination of the affix *n* with the nunnation and of the affix *i* with the gen. plur. has already been made by Tegnér, "De nunnatione arabica", Lund 1865.

## IV.

# DOCTRINE OF THE FORMATION OF WORDS.

### 1. PRONOMINAL INFLECTION.

§. 82. The personal pronoun is in Hebrew: 1. sing. אנכי 'anōxî' (in pausa 'anōxî) or אני 'ānî (in p. אני 'ānî), 1. plur. אנחנו 'ānāhnû (in p. אנחנו 'ānāhnû), rarely נחנו nāhnû, once אני 'ānû', 2. sing. mas. אתה or תּוּ 'attû (p. אתה 'attû), 2. sing. fem. אַתּוּ 'att (p. אתּוּ 'ātt), rarely אַתּוּ 'attî', 2. plur. mas. אתם 'attem, 2. plur. fem. אתנן 'attēn and אתננה 'attēnū (or their variations נתנן, נתננה and נתננה), 3. sing. mas. הוא hū', 3. sing. fem. הִיא hî', 3. plur. mas. הם or הֵמָּה hēm, hēmmā, 3. plur. fem. הֵנָּה hēnnā. Several deviating forms have been retained as suffixes and verbal endings, especially *y = ya* in the 1. sing. and *v = va* in the 3. sing. mas., *hū* for the 3. sing. fem., *k* instead of *t* through all the forms of the second person, conversely *t* for *k* in the 1. sing., finally *tû* for the 2. plur., and *mô* for the 3. plur. mas. In the Pentateuch הוא takes the place of היא with only eleven exceptions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These very difficult forms are perhaps to be understood as follows: *hū*' (comp. Arab. *hura* and the *ra* in suffixes and the



§. 83. The demonstrative is formed from the stem *za* (orig. *da*) and has in the masculine  $\text{זָא}$   $z\bar{a}$  = *za*, which in the feminine through the addition of the feminine ending *ta* becomes  $\text{זֹתָ}$   $z\bar{o}t\bar{a}$  (rarely  $\text{זִתָ}$ ,  $z\bar{i}t\bar{o}$ ). The form  $\text{זִזָ}$   $z\bar{i}z\bar{a}$ , which has been increased through the nominative ending, is used as common to both genders. Compounded, rare collateral forms are  $\text{הַלְלָזָא}$  *hallāzā* (masc.),  $\text{הַלְלָזָתָ}$  *hallēzā* (once, with a fem.) and  $\text{הַלְלָזָ}$  *hallāz* (comm.).<sup>1</sup> The plural is always  $\text{הַלְלָאָּ}$  'ellā, in the Pentateuch also with the article  $\text{הַלְלָאָּ֑}$  *hā'él*. The article

elements of the vocable formation) is compounded of two stems *ha* and *va*. Only in this way does it seem possible to explain the Ethiopic form (Dillmann §. 65) and the suffix *hā* for the 3. sing. fem. The original common form was divided at a later period according to the gender, since the collateral form *ya* was used for the feminine so that a new pronoun was formed out of *ha-ya*, *hi-ya*, *hi'*. The plural added the indefinite pronominal root *ma* to the singular, the double repetition of which indicated the plural, compare especially the Phœnician suffix of the 3. plur.  $\text{מַמַ}$ . (See Schröder, "Die phönizische Sprache", Halle 1869, §. 57.) *hū-m-ma* or *hī-m-ma* must then (§. 38) become *himma* (Hebr. according to §. 42 *hēm̄mā*). The discrimination of the gender through *m* or *n* is merely the employment of a collateral form for the sake of expressing a logical distinction. The true root of the 2. person is certainly *ta*, to which *an* is prefixed. The fem. was formed still later by the annexation of *hi'* after this had become a mark of the feminine gender. The plural was probably designated through the annexation of the affixes *va* (*ya*) = *u* (*i*) and *ma*, and here also at a later period by means of *m* or *n* an artificial distinction in gender was established. — In the 1. person *an* seems likewise to be a prefix. The plural is formed in a similar manner, as in the 2. and 3. person. In the suffixes and personal endings the *t* of the second and the *k* of the first person are often interchanged.

<sup>1</sup> \*Compare Fleischer's explanation of these pronominal forms in the "Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften", 1874, S. 143.

*ha* (orig. *hal*) is evidently cognate with 'ellā; its *l* is always assimilated to the following consonant, hence its vowel before gutturals is subject to the vocal laws contained in §. 28, 29. After the prepositions *bē*, *lē*, *kē*, *h* of the article is elided, see §. 35.

§. 84. The relative is generally אֲשֶׁר 'ăšér, sometimes *še* or *ša* with the doubling of the following consonant. — The interrogative and indefinite<sup>1</sup> is for things מַה *mā*, for persons מִי *mî* (originally a genitive). The first form appears in pausa as *mā*, and likewise before gutturals, but before *hā*, *hā*, 'ā it becomes *mā* (§. 29). Sometimes it loses its accent and is written *ma* with a real or virtual (§. 28) doubling of the following consonant; when united with prepositions both *mā* and *mā* occur, but *lāmā* is found only thrice 1 Sam. i, 8.

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## 2. DECLENSION.

§. 85. Declension is accomplished in Hebrew through the annexation of three affixes, namely of the feminine affix *ta*, the nominative affix *ra*, which was wanting in the accusative and became *ya* in the genitive, and of the indefinite *ma*, which corresponds to our indefinite article. The plural is indicated through the doubling of one of these affixes<sup>2</sup>, yet doubled *ma*

<sup>1</sup> \*According to Fleischer in the passage mentioned above the indefinite signification is earlier than the interrogative, S. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Just the same kind of formation is found in the Indo-Germanic. Comp. in Sanskrit the nom. sing. *dēvas* = *daira-sa*, *deus hic*, nom. plur. *dēvās*, for which the Vedic still has *dēvāsas* = *daira-sa-sa*, *deus hic hic*.

never occurs in Hebrew, except in the pronominal inflection. These suffixes, as well as the final sound of the stem which precedes them, can lose the vowel. When this happens *v* and *y* are changed into their corresponding vowels *u*, *i*. In the explanation of the Hebrew forms it should always be remembered, that short final vowels fall away (§. 37), but are protected through the annexation of suffixes; further that the case-endings as such, with the exception of the local accusative, are no longer to be discriminated; and finally that the definite form, without *ma*, now only stands in the *stat. constr.* and before suffixes.

§. 86. The definite masc. accus. sing. therefore represents in the noun, just as the perfect represents in the verb, the pure stem without any ending, e. g. *sûsa equum*. The indefinite form joins on its own affix which even at an early period had become vowelless: *sûsa-m equum aliquem*. Both forms must become in Hebrew *סוס sûs* (§. 37). Nevertheless many remnants of the old ending have here been retained. Before most of the personal suffixes the final *a* of the stem remains, comp. *סוסו sûsô' equus ejus = sûsa-hû*. The ending *a*, which of course is heightened, is retained to quite an extent to indicate the direction whither; sometimes also the place where. It is unaccented and effects no vowel changes. Comp. *בְּמִדְבָּרָה דַּמַּשְׁקִי miðbárā Dammāš(e)q in desertum Damasci*, *בַּיָּמָה yámmā in mare = yamma*, *בְּבֵיתֵהּ יוֹסֵף bē'ḇētā Jósēf in domum Josephi*. Our punctuation strangely enough almost always retains the entirely unnecessary auxiliary vowels, which have also entered according to §. 52 before the accusative endings, changing them into half vowels. Thus arise impossible forms with the tone upon the antepenult, as Gen. xix, 10 in pausa *בְּבֵיתָהּ habbáyǝḥā domum*, which

ought more correctly to be written **הַבַּיְתָה** *habbáyṭā* = *halbayta*.<sup>1</sup> After a false analogy this ending is also joined to a plural, e. g. in **כַּשְׁדִּיָּמָה** *kašdīma ad Chaldaeos*. The indefinite accusative ending *a-m* appears partly unchanged (Hebr. *am*) partly lengthened to *â-m* (Hebr. *ô'-m*), e. g. in **יּוֹמָם** *yômām interdū*, **הִנָּמָה** *ḥinnám gratis* = *yarma-m*, **הִנָּמָה** *ḥinna-m*, **שִׁלְשׁוֹם** *šilšô'm nudius-tertius* = *šilšâ-m*. Comp. §. 80.

§. 87. The nominative ending *u* usually crowds out the preceding final *a* of the stem, and must then itself fall away in Hebrew. Thus *sûs[a]-u equus* as well as the indefinite form *sûs[a]-u-m equus aliquis* must become **סוּס** *sûs*. In some examples of the *stat. cstr.* the *a* has perhaps been retained and has been blended with *u* to a diphthong, which must then remain in Hebrew; yet the *ô* in these examples is possibly an error in the punctuation for *û*. Comp. **מַיְיָנוּ** *ma'yēnô' fons* = *ma'-yana-u*. These forms probably belong exclusively to the language of the Pentateuch, comp. **הַיְיָנוּ** *hayēnô* Gen. i, 24, **בְּנֹו** *bēnô* Num. xxiv, 3, 15. The first example is repeated several times in later books as a citation. Ps. cxiv, 8 is to be explained in the same way. — Before the pronominal suffixes no nominal ending can be proved with certainty.

§. 88. The genitive ending *i*, which has arisen from the nominative ending, likewise occasions the falling away of final *a*. Hence it must disappear in Hebrew not only in the definite form *sûs[a]-i, equi*, but also in the indefinite *sûs[a]-i-m equi alicujus*, so that only **סוּס**

<sup>1</sup> \*The author here considers the consonant with Šġvā mobile as a real syllable, but this view is not sustained by the Jewish grammarians.

*sûs* remains. Still the ending has been retained in many cases before suffixes, comp. כַּוְּסָנִי *sûsê-nû equus noster* = *sûs-i-nû*. Moreover it is several times lengthened to *î* in *stat. cstr.*, comp. עֲזִיבֵי הַצֹּאֵן 'ôzëẓî' *haç-çõ'n, desertor gregis* = 'âzib-î.<sup>1</sup>

§. 89. The plural, since it is indicated through the doubling of an affix, could not be formed from the accusative, which consisted merely of the stem. The nominative plural was originally *sûsa-va-va*, and still exists in the abstract form, mentioned in §. 81, almost unchanged, since there only, as is commonly the case, the vowel standing between the two identical consonants is elided. After the affixes had lost their vowel, *u-u* became *û* before which the final sound of the stem disappeared (except once Ps. cxvi, 12 תַּגְּמולוֹהִי *taçmûlõ'hî beneficia ejus* = *ta-gmûla-û-hû*). This ending however now exists only in the verb, since the noun uses only the genitive ending. — The indefinite nomin. plur. *sû-s[a]-u-u-ma*, the last vowel of which must remain in primitive Semitic (§. 37), has only been retained at times in the verb, and with the transformation of the *m* into *n*, comp. תִּדְּבַרְנִי *tëðakkë'û-nânî conculcabit me* = *tu-dak-kî'-u-u-ma-nî*, יָדְעוּ *yādë'ûn noverunt* = *vada'-u-u-ma*.

§. 90. The plural of the Hebrew noun is now exclusively formed through the doubling of the genitive ending. The original form of this plural was *sûsa-ya-ya*, which still appears almost completely in the adjective formation mentioned in §. 81. As a rule however both genitive affixes lose their vowel and then blend with *î* or *y*, which form a diphthong with the pre-

<sup>1</sup> \* With reference to this Hîreq compaginis comp. Delitzsch's introduction to Ps. cxiii.

ceding vowel (Hebr. *ay*, *ê*, *ä*). The regular form is *ê*, while *ay* and *ä* only occur before some suffixes. Thus we obtain the forms סוּסַי *sûsê` equi* = *sûsa-y*, סוּסַיְנו *equi nostri* *sûsê`nu* = *susa-y-nû*, סוּסַיְהוּ *equi ejus* = *sûsay-hâ*, סוּסַיְי *equi mei* = *sûsa-y[ya]*. — In the definite form there is no external distinction between the dual and plural.

§. 91. The indefinite form assumes the suffix *ma*, which in primitive Semitic must retain its final vowel (§. 37) to hinder the shortening of the long vowel, and the identity thus arising between the singular and plural. The older formation which corresponds to the definite form has maintained itself by the insertion of an auxiliary vowel (§. 52) with the signification of the dual, comp. סוּסַיִם *sûsá-y(i)m equi duo* = *sûsa-y-ma*, moreover in two plurals מַיִם *may(i)m aquae* and שָׁמַיִם *šamáy(i)m coeli* = *šam[ay]a-y-ma*. But in the usual indefinite plural form final *a* of the stem is crowded out by the following *i*; thus arises סוּסַיִם *sûsá'im equi aliqui* = *sûs[a]-i-i-ma*. Sometimes *n* occurs instead of *m*, as in the verb, e. g. מִדְּיָן *midd-în vestes*.

§. 92. The feminine affix is *ta*, or abbreviated *t* (as in the verb), which was followed in the nom. and gen. by the affixes *u*, *i* and in the indefinite form by *m*. But according to the Hebrew law of final sound everything after *t* must fall away, with a few exceptions, e. g. acc. עֲזָרָתָהּ *'ezrádā auxiliium* = *'izra-ta*, לִיְהוָה *liv-yāḏān* = *liv-ya-ta-m*, nomin. הַיְיָתָהּ *ḥayṯō' vita* = *ḥayya-ta-u*, gen. רַבָּתֵי *rabbūtī domina* = *rabbat-i* (except, of course, before suffixes, as סוּסַיְהוּ *sûsā'ō' equa ejus* = *sûsa-ta-hû*, סוּסַיְהוּ *sûsā'ēnū equa nostra* = *sûsa-t-i-nū*), so that every distinction between the different *casus* and *status* disappeared. A double

feminine form however arose in Hebrew according as the final vowel of the stem preceding the affix *ta* was elided (§. 61) or not. In the latter case the form  $\text{סוּסָה}$  *súsa* = *súsa-ta* arose, which remains in the *st. constr.* and before suffixes. But in the *stat. absol.* since the *t* is not protected by a close connection with something following it is lost, and then the preceding *a* is heightened (§. 42), comp.  $\text{סוּסָה}$  *súsá equa aliqua* = *sú-sa[ta-m]*. If the final vowel of the stem fell away before *ta*, after *t* had become the last letter of the word according to the Hebrew laws of final sound, it was necessary that the auxiliary vowel *e* should be inserted and the preceding syllable heightened. But if the last consonant of the stem was a guttural, *a* was accepted as an auxiliary vowel and the preceding *a* remained unheightened (see the segolate forms §. 52). This manner of formation is especially frequent with participles and infinitives; it is impossible with stems which have no vowel before the final consonant. Comp.  $\text{מוֹדָא'$  *módá'(a)* = *cognatio* = *ma-vda'-ta*,  $\text{קוֹטָל'$  *qótál'(e)* = *interficiens* = *qátal-ta*;  $\text{חַמִּישׁ'$  *háměš'(e)* = *quinque* = *ha-miš-ta*,  $\text{גּוּל-גּוּל'$  *gul-gól'(e)* = *cranium* = *gul-gul-ta*. A long vowel in the last syllable of the stem must naturally be shortened (§. 38), but an *i* or *u* thus shortened was again heightened in Hebrew. Comp.  $\text{שָׁה}$  *šah(a)* = *fovea* = *šah-ta* = *sáh-ta* = *šavaḥ-ta*, from  $\text{יֵשׁ}$  *'iš*, *stat. cstr.* fem.  $\text{עֵשׂ}$  *'ěš(e)* = *'iš-ta* = *'iš-ta* = *'inš-ta*, from  $\text{נַחֲשׁ}$  *nāḥúš* dual. fem.  $\text{נֶחֱשַׁיִם}$  *něḥúštay(i)m* = *nahúš-ta-y-ma*, but singular  $\text{אֵשׁ}$  *ěš* *něḥōš'(e)* = *nahúš-ta*. Of course no auxiliary vowel is allowable, if the preceding consonant was either assimilated to the *t*, or was an *'aleφ*, or if on account of Hebrew vocal laws it had already been vocalized in the masculine. Comp.  $\text{אָמַת}$  *'ěmā* = *veritas* = *'amat-ta* = *'aman-ta*, before suffixes  $\text{אָמִיתוֹ}$  *'ămittó* = *'aman-ta-hú*;  $\text{חַטָּא}$  *hattá* = *peccatum* =

*ḥattā'-ta*; שְׁבִיָּה *šəβī'-*־ *captivitas*, from masc. שְׁבִי *šəβī* = *šaby*. — The shorter feminine formation remains just the same in the *stat. cstr.* and *abs.*, but is sometimes appropriated by the *stat. cstr.*, when the *stat. abs.* follows the longer form, comp. אֲבָלָה 'ôχēlā (אֲבָלָה) and אֲבָלָה 'ôχāl(e)־. It still usually retains in the preceding syllable the original *a*, although it has become *i* in the masculine, e. g. קוֹטֵל *qôṭēl* = *qâtīla* fem. קוֹטֵלָה *qôṭāl(e)*־ = *qâtal-ta*.

§. 93. The plural of the feminine was probably formed through a repetition of the feminine affix, whereby the first *t* was elided even at an early period.<sup>1</sup> The status and casus endings, which afterwards followed, fell away together according to the Hebrew law of final sound, so that only one form remained in use for the *stat. abs.* and *cstr.*, namely שִׁסָּה *sûs-ô'*־ = *sûsât* = *sûsâ-[t]a-ta* or *sûsa-[t]a-ta-m*. A special ending for the indefinite form has only been retained in the verb (in the Aramaic it has also been retained in the noun, e. g. הִינָן, the *stat. absol. plur.* from הִינָן *animal*) since here also the second *t* was elided and only the indefinite *m*, which was changed to *n* remained. — Before suffixes the plural endings of the masculine are superadded after the feminine plural ending (comp. כְּסִיָּה and כְּסוֹסוֹהֵיָה) according to a false analogy, peculiar to the Hebrew.

§. 94. In order to designate the feminine dual, a collateral form was chosen, which indicated the plural through the repetition of the affix of the case, and

<sup>1</sup> In Aramaic an elision of the fem. *t* between vowels in the plural of the *stat. absol.* can be proved. Comp. Chald. מַלְכָּתַיָּה *malkát reginae* = *malka[t]ata*, but מַלְכָּנַיָּה *malkân reginae aliquae* = *malkâtan* = *malka-ta-ta-ma*.



not the affix of the gender which was placed only once. Thus arise the forms סוּסַתַּי <sup>1</sup> *sûsêṣṣé'* *equae duae* = *sûsa-ta-i-i*, before suffixes סוּסַתַּיִנִּי *sûsâṣṣé'nû* *equae nostrae* = *sûsa-ta-i-i-nû*, in the indefinite form with the annexation of the status-affixes סוּסַתַּיִם *sûsâṣṣáy(i)m* *equae duae aliquae* = *sûsa-ta-y-ma*.

§. 95. The above survey shows, that while the Hebrew has retained the distinction between the genders throughout from the old Semitic declension, it has ceased almost completely to distinguish the cases, and has maintained the distinction between the *stat. absol.* and *constr.* only in the plural of the masculine and in the dual, while in the singular of the feminine it has produced a new form. Yet a few words still occur, which in the masc. sing. have retained the primitive distinction between the *stat. absol.* and *constr.*, since their definite form in primitive Semitic, ended through contraction, in a long vowel, which was shortened before the characteristic *m* of the indefinite form according to §. 38; hence while the final syllable of the *stat. absol.* was subject to the Hebrew laws of final sound, that of the *constr.* was excepted. Comp. אָבִי *'ăbî* *pater*, originally *'abî*, but *stat. absol.* אָב *'āb* = *'ab* = *'abim* = *'abî-m* (*'abî-ma*). In like manner אָחִי *'ăḥî*, *stat. absol.* אָח *'āḥ*; סוֹכֵר *socer ḥămî*, *stat. absol.* חָם *ḥām*; פִּי *pî* *os*, *stat. absol.* פֶּה *pā*, originally *pa-m*. — Another distinction is this, that the nominal stems which end in *ay* have *ā* in the *stat. absol.*, and *ê* in the *constr.* e. g. הוֹזֵא *ḥōzā* *propheta*, originally *ḥâza[ya-m]*, *stat. constr.* הוֹזֵה *ḥôzê*, the original form of which is probably a genitive *ḥâza[y]i*, where the short final vowel, on account of the close connection of the governing

<sup>1</sup> \*This form however does not occur.

with the following word in the *stat. cstr.* has been retained, and blended with the preceding vowel. In Ethiopic also the short vowel of the *stat. cstr.* commonly remains.<sup>1</sup>

§. 96. All other distinctions between the *stat. abs.* and *stat. cstr.* depend only upon the later Hebrew vocal laws. While the first open syllable before the tone in the *stat. absol.* is heightened according to a universal rule (§. 42, 43), and only the second syllable before the tone is volatilized, the first open syllable before the tone in the *stat. cstr.* must be volatilized, since it has merely a secondary accent, but the second retains its short vowel in order that two half vowels may not immediately follow one another.<sup>2</sup> (Exceptions are very rare, e. g. שְׂמֵחִים שְׂמֵחִים *šēmēhē* laetantes = *šamiḥay* together with the regular form שְׂמֵחִים *šimēḫē*, רֵזָרָא רֵזָרָא *'ēzō'r cingulum* = *'izāra*.) In other cases the *a* of an accented closed syllable in the *stat. cstr.* is never heightened, although this heightening generally occurs in the *stat. abs.*<sup>3</sup>, e. g. אָמ *'ām populus*, *stat. cstr.* אַמ *'am*. All the vowel changes of the Hebrew declension can be explained by means of these two rules. Comp. חָכָם *ḥāḫām sapiens*, primitive form *ḥakama-m*, *stat. cstr.* חָכַם *ḥāḫam*, fem. חָכְמָה *ḥāḫāmá*, *stat. cstr.* חָכְמַי *ḥa-ḫēmāi*, plur. חָכְמַיִם *ḥāḫāmī'm*, *stat. cstr.* חָכְמַיִ *ḥaḫēmē*, plur. fem. חָכְמַיִם *ḥāḫāmō'ī*, *stat. cstr.*

<sup>1</sup> \*See Dillmann, "Grammatik", §. 144 a.

<sup>2</sup> The volatilization of the pretonic syllable even in the *st. abs.* is peculiar to the fem. form, which rejects final *a* of the stem before *t*, e. g. מְלֵאָה *mēlā(e)* (collateral form of מְלֵאָה).

<sup>3</sup> \*The noun אָמ *yām*, which commonly retains its *ā* in the *stat. cstr.* with, as well as without, following *maqquf*, is an exception. See Luzzatto, "Grammatica della Lingua Ebraica", Padova 1853, §. 870.

הַבְּמֹהַר *ḥaxǝmôʿ* ♂, dual הַבְּמֹהַר *ḥǎḫāmáy(i)m*, *stat. cstr.*  
 הַבְּבֵי *ḥaxǝmê*, dual fem. הַבְּמֵתִים *ḥaxǝmāšáy(i)m*, *stat.*  
*cstr.* הַבְּמֵתֵי *ḥǎḫamšéʿ*.<sup>1</sup> One can easily decline every  
 other theme after the model, provided he observes the  
 following particulars.

§. 97. According to §. 46, when *a* would neces-  
 sarily remain short in an open syllable on account of a  
 following half vowel, it is frequently modified to *i*, e. g.  
 הַבְּרַי *di-βǝ-réʿ* = *da-ba-ray*; likewise in a closed, un-  
 accented syllable, comp. הַבְּחֵי *ziβḥóʿ* *sacrificium ejus* =  
*zabḥa-hú*. In both cases *u* almost always becomes *o*,  
 comp. הַבְּרֵי *qo-δǝ-šéʿ* *sanctuaría* = *qu-da-ša-y*, הַבְּרֵי *qoδ-šó*  
*sanctuarium ejus* = *qudša-hú*. On the contrary *i* (even  
 the *i* which has arisen from *a*) is more rarely modified  
 to *e*; most commonly only with a preceding guttural,  
 possibly also with a following labial. Comp. הַבְּגֵי *ʿe-*  
*γǝ-léʿ* *vituli* = *ʿigala-y*, הַבְּגֵי *ʿeγlóʿ* *vitulus ejus* = *ʿigla-hú*,  
 הַבְּגֵי *ḥeβǝléʿ* ὁδῖνος = *hibalay*, collateral with הַבְּגֵי *ḥa-*  
*βǝléʿ* *vincula*.

§. 98. In an open pretonic syllable *u* is always  
 heightened, *i* is very frequently not heightened, but volat-  
 ilized, especially before and after long vowels, which  
 through their ascendancy readily suppress an originally  
 short vowel. For this reason and on account of their  
 half verbal character this volatilization occurs mostly in  
 participles and infinitives as well as in the form *qittila*.  
 Comp. הַבְּרָה *pǝráʿ* = *purát*, הַבְּרָה *kǝšáβ* = *kitába*, הַבְּרָה  
*qótǝlím* *interficietes* = *qátílím*, הַבְּרָה *móʿădíím* *congre-*  
*gationes* = *ma-ʿid-ím*.

<sup>1</sup> \*Nevertheless both forms of the *stat. cstr.* dual are hypo-  
 thetical.

§. 99. An exchange of stems (metaplasm) occurs especially in the following cases. 1) The monosyllabic nominal forms *qatl[a]*, *qitl[a]*, *qutl[a]*, always form their plural (not their dual) from the dissyllabic stems *qatal[a]*, *qital[a]*, *qutal[a]*. Comp. מַלְכָּה *māl(e)χ* *rex* = *malka*, מַלְכוֹת *malkó' rex ejus* = *mal-ka-hú*, but plur. מַלְכִּים *mēlāχīm* = *malak-îm*, *st. cstr.* מַלְכָּי *malēχē* = *malakay*. 2) The transposition of *qatla*, *qitla*, *qutla* to *qtala*, *qtila*, *qtula* sometimes takes place in the noun, regularly in the infinitive when no complete vowel follows, comp. שָׁכַב *š(ē)χaβ* *jacere* = *škaba* = *šakba*, שָׁמַר *š(ē)mōr* *custodire* = *šmura*, *šumra*, שָׁמְרוּ *š(ē)morēχā* = *šmura-ka*, but שָׁמְרוּ *šom(ē)rō'* = *šumra-hú* (with an inserted inorganic half vowel, see §. 49), moreover in stems *med.* 'āleφ with *i*, e. g. בָּיַר *b(ē)'ēr* *fons* = *b'ira* = *b'ra*, plur. *stat. cstr.* either בְּאֵרוֹת *b(ē)'ērōt* = *b'ir-ât* or according to the original position בְּאֵרוֹת *be'ērōt* = *b'ar-ât*. 3) The form *qatila* sometimes assumes in *stat. cstr.* the form *qatla*, or transposed *qtala*. Comp. קָטִיפָה *kāḏēφ* *umerus* = *katipa*, *stat. cstr.* קָטִיפָה *kūḏ(e)φ* = *katpa*, זָקִין *zāqēn* *senex* = *zaqina*, *stat. cstr.* זָקִין *zēqan* = *zqana*, *zaqna*. 4) The form *qattāla* dispenses with its lengthening, which probably first entered subsequently, in the *stat. cstr.* the masc. sing. and fem. plur., usually too before suffixes of the feminine plural, comp. פָּרָשׁ *pārāš* *equus* = *parrāša*, *stat. cstr.* פָּרָשׁ *pārāš* = *parraša*.

§. 100. The last consonant of the stem sometimes undergoes euphonic doubling, most frequently in the form *qatula*, to render the preceding vowel unchangeable (§. 41). Comp. זְמַנִּים *zēman-nīm* *tempora* = *zmanīm*, גַּמְלִים *gēmallīm* *cameli* = *gamal-îm*, מִשְׁמַנִּים *mišmannīm* *fortes* = *ma-šman-îm*, עֲמוּקָה *'āmōq* *profundus* = *'amuqa*, fem. עֲמוּקָה *'āmuqqē* = *'amuqa-t*, *stat. cstr.* עֲמוּקָה *'āmuqqā*. — A similar euphonic doubling of the

second radical consonant occurs less frequently; it is almost exclusively confined to the *stat. abs.* Comp. אָרִיסָר *'issâr prohibitio* = *'isâra*, חִזְיֹן *hizyayôn visio* = *hizayân*, *stat. cstr.* חֶזְיֹן *hezÿyô'n*.

§. 101. Final *ay* (Hebr.  $\bar{a}$ , *stat. cstr. ê*) of the stem almost always falls away before the endings of the feminine the plural and the suffixes. Comp. הֹזְאָה *hôzâ<sup>â</sup> propheta* = *hâza[ya-m]*, *stat. cstr.* הֹזְעָה *hôzê<sup>ê</sup> = hâza[ay]i*, comp. §. 95, fem. הֹזְאָה *hôzâ<sup>â</sup>*, *stat. cstr.* הֹזְאָה *hôzâ<sup>â</sup> = hâzaya-t*, plur. הֹזְאִים *hôzî'm = hâzay-îm*, *stat. cstr.* הֹזְעִי *hôzê<sup>ê</sup> = hazay-ay*, plur. fem. הֹזְעוֹת *hôzô<sup>ô</sup>'ô = hâzay-ât*, הֹזְעָא *hôzÿÿâ propheta tuus = hâz[ay]a-ka*, הֹזְעָהּ *hôzê<sup>h</sup>â propheta ejus = hâz[ay]-i-hû*. Still single forms also occur before suffixes, in which the *ay* has been retained, e. g. מִיִּנְיָא *miqnâÿâ possessio tua = maqnay-ka*, מִרְאֵיהֶם *mar'êhêm aspectus eorum = ma-r'ay-hum*.<sup>1</sup> In the feminine of the infinitive the vowel which precedes the elided *y* blends with the following, comp. רְאִיהָ *videre r(ÿ)'ô<sup>ô</sup> = r'aya-t*, הִחַיְתָּהּ *hah(ÿ)yô<sup>ô</sup> = ha-hyayu-t*.

§. 102. The endings *iyya* and *uyya* (from *uvva*), although originally themselves plural forms, receive the endings of the gender and number in the usual manner; only the plural has contracted *îm* from *-iyy-îm* and in the sing. *iyy* always becomes *î* and *uvv* becomes *û*; the connection of the ending of the fem. sing. with the former is frequently and with the latter is always immediate. Comp. עִבְרִי *'îbrî hebraeus = 'ibriyy*, fem. עִבְרִיָּה *'îbrî'ô* or עִבְרִיָּא *'îbrîyyâ = 'ibriyya-t*, plur. עִבְרִיִּים, contracted עִבְרִיִּם *'îbrî'm = 'ibriyy-îm*, fem.

<sup>1</sup> \*It should however be remarked the *yôd* of such forms may in many cases (e. g. Dan. i, 5) indicate the plural.

יְבִרְיָהּ *'ibriyyô'* = *'ibriyy-ât*, מַלְכּוּתָא *regnum malëxû'* from מַלְכּוּ *malëxû'* = *malakuvv[a]*, plur. מַלְכּוּתָא *malëxuyyô'*, comp. §. 81.

§. 103. The suffixes appended to the noun which indicate the genitive of the personal pronoun are only shortened forms of these same pronouns. In their formation they differ very slightly from those appended to the verb. They are: 1. sing. *i'* or *y*; 2. sing. masc. *kâ*; 2. sing. fem. *k*; 3. sing. masc. *-hû*, *-v*; 3. sing. fem. *hâ*, *h*; 1. plur. *-nú*; 2. plur. masc. *kém*; 2. plur. fem. *kén*; 3. plur. masc. *hém*, *m*, poet. *mô*; 3. plur. fem. *hén*, *n*. The old final vowel has been retained before them (§. 37), hence the monosyllabic stems appear in their original form. This final vowel is either *a* (Hebr. *ā*, *ā̄*, *ǝ*) or *i* (Hebr. *ē*) and has the tone, except when it is volatilized, or absorbed by the vowel of the suffix. If the final vowel had already become long in primitive Semitic by fusion with the preceding vowel, the suffixes are naturally joined directly to this long vowel; but a vocalization of the final consonant, which first entered according to Hebrew vocal laws, is ignored by the far older forms of the suffixes. Comp. the suffix-form יְיָנוּ *pí-nú* from the petrified genitive form יְיָ *os pí*; but יְיָנוּ *piryénú* = *pary-i-nú*, not *pěrinú* from יְיָ *pěri' fructus* = *pary*. Nevertheless יְיָנוּ *pě-rí-kém* also occurs before *kém*, *hém*. In the plural and dual of both genders the suffixes are always joined to the masculine plural ending *ay* (Hebr. *ay*, *ā̄*, *ê*) so that the feminine has a double plural ending before the suffixes.

§. 104. The nouns with suffixes appear in the following form: 1. sing. סוּסֵי *sús-i'* *equus meus*, יְיָ *pí os meum* = *pí-y[a]*, in the fem. סוּסָא *súsā-t-i'* = *súsa-t-i*, in

the plur. and dual masc. כֹּסֵי *súsay* = *susa-y-y[a]*, comp. §. 34, 3, in the fem. plur. כֹּסוֹתַי *súsótáy* = *sús-át-ay-y[a]*, in the fem. dual כֹּסְתַי *súsātáy* = *súsa-ta-y-y[a]*; 1. plur. פִּינֹה *pí'nú*, כֹּסֵנֹה *súsénú* = *sús-i-nú*, in the fem. כֹּסְתֵנֹה *súsēténú* = *súsa-t-i-nú*, in the dual and plural כֹּסֵינֹה *súsénú* = *súsa-y-nú*, in the fem. plur. כֹּסְתֵינֹה *súsóténú* = *súsát-ay-nú*, in the fem. dual כֹּסְתַינֹה *súsātáy* = *súsa-ta-y-nú*; 2. masc. sing. פִּי *pí'*  $\chi\bar{a}$ , כֹּסָךְ *súsəχá* (in pausa כֹּסְךָ *súsāχā*) = *súsa-ka*, in the plural כֹּסְיָךְ *súsāχā* = *súsa-y-ka*, 2. fem. sing. פִּי *pí'*  $\chi$ , כֹּסְךְ *súséχ* = *sús-i-k*, in the plur. כֹּסְיָכֶם *súsáy(i)χ* = *súsa-y-k*; 2. masc. plur. פִּי  $\chi$  *pí'-χém*, כֹּסְיָכֶם *súsəχém* = *súsa-kum*, with a full final vowel only פִּי  $\chi$  *immā-χém vobiscum*, in the plural כֹּסְיָכֶם *súséχém* = *súsa-y-kum*; 2. fem. plur. פִּי  $\chi$  *pí'χén*, כֹּסְיָכֶן *súsə-χén*, in the plur. כֹּסְיָכֶן *súséχén*; 3. masc. sing. פִּי *pí'hú* or פִּי *pív* = *pí-v[a]*, כֹּסֹ' *súsó'* = *súsa-hú* (poetically with the genitive ending כֹּסְיָהוּ *súsé'hú* = *sús-i-hú*) in the poetical form of the plural כֹּסְיָהוּ *súsé'hú* = *súsa-y-hú*, commonly כֹּסְיֹ, also written כֹּסְיֹ, to be pronounced according to the punctuation *sú-sáv*, certainly from *súsay-hú*; 3. fem. sing. פִּי *pí'há*, כֹּסְיָהָ *súsáhá* = *súsa-há*, commonly apocopated כֹּסְיָהָ *súsáh*, in the plur. כֹּסְיָהָ *súsā-há* = *súsa-y-há*; 3. masc. plur. פִּי *pí'hém*, כֹּסְיָמֶם *súsám* = *sú-sa-m* = *súsa-hem* = *súsa-hum*, poetically also כֹּסְיָמֹ *súsámô*, in the plur. כֹּסְיָמֶם *súséhém* = *súsa-y-hum*, poetically כֹּסְיָמֹ *súsé'mô* = *súsé-hemô*; 3. plur. fem. פִּי *pí'hén*, כֹּסְיָנֶן *súsán* = *súsa-hun*, in the plur. כֹּסְיָנֶן *súsé'hén* = *súsa-y-hun*.

§. 105. The vowels before the suffixes are changed entirely according to universal vocal laws. The pre-tonic syllable should be heightened. The syllables at a greater distance from the tone should be volatilized, and open syllables which stand before a half vowel

should retain their short vowel. Only the suffix *ka* forms an exception to the latter rule, before which *a* is heightened in the antepenult, comp. דְּבָרָךְ דְּבָרָךְ *dēḇārēχā* = *dabara-ka* together with דְּבָרְךָ דְּבָרְךָ *dēḇarēχem* = *dabarakum*, but regularly אֵיבָה אֵיבָה *'ōyēḇā* = *'āyibaka* from אֵיבָה *'ōyēḇ* *hostis* = *'āyiba*, שִׁמָּה שִׁמָּה *šimēχa* = *šima-ka* from שֵׁם *šēm nomen* = *šima*, יוֹצֵרְךָ יוֹצֵרְךָ *yôḥerēχā* *plasmator tuus* = *yāçira-ka*, אֹהֵבְךָ אֹהֵבְךָ *'ôhaḇēχā* *amator tuus* = *'āhiba-ka* (by reason of the guttural), קְטוּלָה קְטוּלָה *qēṭolēχā* = *qtula-ka* from קְטוּלָה *qēṭōl* = *qtula* = *qutla*. — Volatilization of the pretonic syllable often occurs with *i*, especially in participles, comp. שֵׁמִי שֵׁמִי *nomen meum šēmî* = *šimî* from שֵׁם *šēm* = *šim*, קוֹטְלִי קוֹטְלִי *qôṭlî* = *qâtil-î* from קוֹטְלֵי *qôṭel* = *qâṭila*, מוֹצְרִי מוֹצְרִי *mô'ăḏî* *congregatio mea* = *ma-ṽid-î* from מוֹצֵד *mô'ēḏ*. On the contrary *i* is very rarely heightened in the antepenult of the form *qatila* e. g. הַצְרֹתַי הַצְרֹתַי *ḥaṣṣerôṣáy* *atria mea* together with הַצְרֹתַי הַצְרֹתַי *ḥaṣṣerôṣáy* = *ḥaṣirât-ay[ya]*.

§. 106. The stems which end in *ay* lose this termination not only before all endings, but also before suffixes. Comp. הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzā* *propheta* = *ḥāza[ya-m]*, *stat. cstr.* הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzē* = *ḥāza[ay]i*, with suffixes הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzî* = *ḥāz[ay]-î*, הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzēχā* = *ḥāz[ay]a-ka*, הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzēχ* = *ḥāz[ay]-i-k*, הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzēḥû* = *ḥāz[ay]-i-hû*, הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzāh* = *ḥāz[ay]a-h*, הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzēnû* = *ḥāz[ay]-i-nû*, הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzēχém* = *ḥāz[ay]a-kum*, הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzām* = *ḥāz[ay]a-hum*. Yet the unabbreviated forms sometimes also occur, which then naturally exhibit the same vocal phenomena as the plurals with suffixes, most frequently before *kém*, *hém*, e. g. הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzē-χém* = *ḥazay-kum*, הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzēhém* = *ḥāzay-hum*. The feminine has הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzā* = *ḥāz[ay]a-t*, *stat. cstr.* הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzāṽ*, with suffixes הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzāṽî*, הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzāṽēχā* = *ḥāz[ay]a-t-î*, *ḥāz[ay]a-ta-ka* etc., plural הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzîm* = *ḥāz[ay]-îm*, *stat. cstr.* הוֹזֵא הוֹזֵא *ḥôzē* = *ḥāz-*



[ay]a-y, with suffixes הוֹי *hō-záy* = *hâz[ay]a-y-[ya]*, הוֹיָךְ *hōzä'ā* = *hâz[ay]a-y-ka* etc., fem. plur. הוֹיֹת *hō-zô'* = *hâz[ay]-ât*, with suffixes הוֹיֹתֶיךָ *hōzô'äy* = *hâz[ay]-âta-y-[ya]*, הוֹיֹתֶיךָ *hōzô'ä'ā* = *hâ-z[ay]-âta-y-ka* etc.

§. 107. We present here together for the sake of clearness several unusual forms of declension which have already been partially touched upon. The monosyllabic stem ראש *rôš caput* = *ra'sa* has in the plural ראשים *râšim* = *ra'asim*, while the similarly formed stems צאן *çôn pecus* = *ça'na* and באר *cisterna bôr* = *ba'ra* are unchangeable. In like manner יר *urbs 'ir* = *'iyra* has in the plural ירים *'arim* = *'äyärim*, *stat. cstr.* ירֵי *'aré*, תֵּל *hay(i)l virtus* = *hayla* in the plural תְּלִים *hây'alim* and שׂוֹר *sôr taurus* = *šavra* in the plural שׂוֹרִים *švārīm*, while otherwise such forms are unchangeable and do not form their plural from a disyllabic stem. The plurals כְּלִים *kelim*, *stat. cstr.* כְּלֵי *këlé* from כְּלִי *këli vas* = *kalya*, and יָמִים *yāmim*, *stat. cstr.* יָמֵי *yemé* from יוֹם *yôm dies* = *yavma* are evidently based upon a theme which deviates from the singular. The plural בָּתִּים *bottim* from בַּיִת *bay(i)t domus* = *bayta* is obscure and perhaps only rests upon an arbitrary punctuation. The word אִשׁ *'iš vir* = *'ins, 'ans* has regularly in the plural אֲנָשִׁים *'anāšim*, *stat. cstr.* אֲנָשֵׁי *'anšé* = *'anaša-y*. Its feminine אִשָּׁה *'iššā* = *'inša-ta*, *stat. cstr.* אִשָּׁה *'ēš(e)t* = *'iš-t* = *'ist* = *'inš-ta*, with suffixes אִשְׁתּוֹ *'ištó* = *'iš-ta-hú*, אִשְׁתְּךָ *'ēštĕ'ā* = *'išta-ka*, is only discriminated in the plural from the masculine through the apocope of 'ā נָשִׁים *nāšim*. The shortened form בֵּן *bēn filius*, *stat. cstr.* בֶּן *ben* or בִּין *bin*, with suffixes בְּנוֹ *bĕnô'*, בְּנֵי *binĕ'ā* exhibits an *a* in the plural בָּנִים *banim*, *stat. cstr.* בָּנֵי *bĕnē'*, likewise in the feminine בַּת *bat* = *bant*, with suffixes בַּתּוֹ *bittó'*, plur. בָּנוֹת *bā-*

*nô'*ִ, *stat. cstr.* בְּנוֹה *bəno'*ִ. The words אָב *'āḇ pater*, אָח *'āḥ frater*, אָמ *hām socer*, אָו *pā os* have in the definite form, hence in the *stat. cstr.* and before suffixes according to §§. 37. 95 a final *i*, therefore in the *stat. cstr.* אָבִי *'āḇî*, אָחִי *'āḥî*, אָמִי *hāmî*, אָוִי *pî*. The following forms appear as plurals: אָבוֹת *'āḇō'*ִ *patres* and אָחִים *'āḥî'm fratres*, the latter with implied, but probably only euphonic doubling, which also remains before the suffixes (comp. אָחִיךָ *'āḥî'çā*, אָחִיךָ *'āḥî'ç[y]v* (according to §. 29), but in the *stat. cstr.* אָחֵי *'āḥê* it disappears. The words אָמוֹת *hāmō'*ִ *socrus* and אָחוֹת *'āḥō'*ִ *soror* = *'āḥaya-t*, plur. אָחָיוֹת *'āḥāyō'*ִ occur as feminines. An *h* appears as a third radical in the plur. אָמָהוֹת *'āmā-hō'*ִ, *stat. cstr.* אָמָהוֹת *'aməḥō'*ִ from אָמָה *'āmā ancilla*.

§. 108. The Hebrew numerals are: 1 אֶחָד *'āḥād* = *'āḥhād* according to §. 29 = *'āḥada* with implied euphonic *dāyeš*, *stat. cstr.* אַחַד *'āḥàd*, fem. אַחַדָּה *'āḥàdā* = *āḥad-t*; 2 שְׁנַיִם *šəṇáy(i)m*, fem. שְׁתַּיִם *štay(i)m*.<sup>1</sup> The numbers 3—10 have the peculiarity, that their masculine is connected with the feminine of that which is numbered and vice versa.<sup>2</sup> In the *stat. cstr.* of the fem. they generally have the form which elides the final radical vowel before *t* of the ending. Hence שְׁלוֹשׁ *šālōš*, *stat. cstr.* שְׁלֹשׁ *šəlōš*, fem. שְׁלוֹשָׁה *šəlōšā*, *stat. cstr.* שְׁלוֹשָׁה *šəlōš(e)*ִ = *šaluš-t* (§. 40); 4 אַרְבַּע *'arbi'*, fem.

<sup>1</sup> \*The form שְׁתַּיִם has arisen from שְׁתַּיִם = שְׁתַּיִם. The *dāyeš* lene after the volatilization of the initial vowel has merely remained as an etymological sign.

<sup>2</sup> \*Fleischer considers the numerals in this case as substantives which maintained themselves as such by their dissimilarity to the person or thing numbered; see his treatise "Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arabischen" in "Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften", 1862.

אַרְבָּעָה 'arbā'á, *stat. cstr.* אַרְבַּע 'arbá'(a)ר; 5 חַמֵּשׁ hā-  
 mēš, *fem.* חַמִּישָׁא hāmiššá, *stat. cstr.* חַמֵּשׁ(e)ר; 6 שֵׁשׁ šēš, *fem.* שִׁשָּׂא šiššá, *stat. cstr.* שֵׁשׁ(e)ר =  
 šiš-t; 7 שְׁבַע šāβ(a)', *stat. cstr.* שְׁבַע š(ē)βá', *fem.* שְׁבַעָה šīβ'á, *stat. cstr.* שְׁבַעָה šīβ'á; 8 שְׁמוֹנָה šēmôná, *fem.* שְׁמוֹנָה šēmôná, *stat. cstr.* שְׁמוֹנָה šēmôná; 9 תֵּשַׁע tēš(a)', *stat. cstr.* תֵּשַׁע t(ē)šá', *fem.* תֵּשַׁעָה tiš'á, *stat. cstr.* תֵּשַׁעָה tiš'á; 10 עֶשְׂרִי 'āš(e)r, *fem.* עֶשְׂרִי 'āšārá, *stat. cstr.* עֶשְׂרִי 'ā-  
 šār(e)ר. The numbers 11—19 are formed by prefixing  
 the units to עֶשְׂרִי 'āšār, *fem.* עֶשְׂרִי 'ešrē'; 11 is in-  
 dicated, besides עֶשְׂרִי אַחַד 'ahād 'āšār, *fem.* עֶשְׂרִי אַחַד 'ahād 'ešrē', by עֶשְׂרִי עֶשְׂתֵּי 'aštē' 'āšār, *fem.* עֶשְׂרִי עֶשְׂתֵּי 'aštē' 'ešrē'.<sup>1</sup> For 12 the forms עֶשְׂרִי שְׁנַיִם šēnē'm 'āšār,  
*fem.* עֶשְׂרִי שְׁתַּיִם štēm 'ešrē' are used, as well as עֶשְׂרִי שְׁנַיִם šēnē 'āšār, *fem.* עֶשְׂרִי שְׁתַּיִם štē 'ešrē'. The number 13  
 precedes the masculines in the form עֶשְׂרִי שְׁלוֹשָׁה šēlōšá  
 'āšār, it precedes feminines in the form עֶשְׂרִי שְׁלוֹשׁ šēlōš  
 'ešrē'. The other numerals up to nineteen follow the  
 same analogy. The tens are indicated by the plural  
 of the units, except 20, for which the plural of 10  
 is employed. In this case the monosyllabic stems  
 form a regular, not a dissyllabic plural. Hence 20  
 עֶשְׂרִימ 'ešrīm, 30 שְׁלוֹשִׁים šēlōšīm, 40 אַרְבָּעִים 'arbā'īm,  
 50 חַמִּישִׁים hāmiššīm, 60 שִׁשִּׁים šiššīm, 70 שְׁבַעִים šīβ'īm,  
 80 שְׁמוֹנִים šēmônīm, 90 תֵּשַׁעִים tiš'īm, 100 מֵאָה mē'á, *stat. cstr.* מֵאָה mē'á; 200 מֵאָתַיִם māváy(i)m = mē'āváy(i)m,  
 300 מֵאוֹת šēlōš(e)ר mē'ó, before the feminine  
 מֵאוֹת šēlōš mē'ó etc., 1000 אֶלְפִי 'ál(e)φ, 2000 אֶלְפִים 'alpáy(i)m', 3000 אֶלְפִים šēlōš(e)ר 'álāφīm etc.;

<sup>1</sup> \*This enigmatic word עֶשְׂתֵּי which as well as 'āhād sig-  
 nifies *unus* is the same as the Assyrian numeral *istin unus*, and  
 is of Accadic origin; comp. Friedrich Delitzsch in "Smith's Chal-  
 däische Genesis", Leipzig 1876, S. 277—280.

10000 רבבה *rəḥḇāḇá*, later רבוא *ribbó'*, רבוה *ribbó'* ר; 20000 רבותרים *ribbóḥáy(i)m*.

§. 109. The ordinals (except ראשון *rīšō'n primus* = רֵי'שׁוֹן) are formed through the annexation of the affix *i* as follows: שֵׁנִי *šēnī secundus*, שְׁלִישִׁי *šēlišī tertius*, רְבִיעִי *rəḇī'ī quartus*, חֲמִישִׁי *ḥāmīššī* or חֲמִישִׁי *ḥāmīšī quintus*, שִׁשִּׁי *šiššī sextus*, שֶׁבְעִי *šēḇ'ī septimus*, שְׁמִינִי *šēminī octavus*, תְּשִׁיעִי *tēšī'ī nonus*, עֲשִׂירִי *'āšīrī decimus*. The feminine forms usually end in -י' *-ī*, more rarely in -יי' *-iyyā*, and indicate a part, e. g. חֲמִישִׁית *ḥāmīššī't* quinta pars, which can also be expressed through חֲמִישׁ *ḥōm(e)š*. — The dual of the feminine gives the numeral the signification of *times*, or *fold*, e. g. שִׁבְעִיתִים *šīḇ'āḥáy(i)m septies*.

### 3. CONJUGATION.

§. 110. The perfect of the simple form (*qal*), as has been already remarked, has arisen from the theme *qatala*, of which the intransitive forms are *qatila* and *qutula*. The feminine and the plural of the third person are formed by means of the same affixes as in the noun, while the formation of the second and first person is accomplished through the annexation of the corresponding personal pronouns, with the elision of the preceding final vowel of the stem. Thus we have 3. sing. masc. קָטַל *qātál interfecit* = *qatala*, compare before suffixes קָטַלְנִי *qəṭālā-nī* = *qatala-nī*. The 3. sing. fem. is קָטַלְתָּ *qāṭəltā* according to §. 43 = *qatala-t*. This form even in primitive Semitic had lost the vowel of the feminine affix, and ended in the consonant *t*; compare with suffixes קָטַלְתְּהוּ *qəṭālāt-hū* = *qatalat-hū*. The 3. plur. has no distinction of

gender קָטַלְתָּ *qātēlû* = *qaṭal-û* = *qatal[a]-u-u*, very rarely with the status-affix *n*, which has arisen out of *m*, as קָטַלְתָּנָּה *qātēlû'n* = *qatal[a]-u-u-ma*. In the second person masc. sing. we find קָטַלְתָּ *qātál-tā* = *qa-ṭal-ta*, fem. קָטַלְתְּ *qātált* = *qatal-t* (rarely קָטַלְתִּי *qātáltî* = *qatal-tî*<sup>1</sup>, which however always appears before suffixes, e. g. קָטַלְתִּינִי *qētáltî-nî* = *qatáltî-nî*). The masc. plur. is קָטַלְתֶּם *qētáltém* = *qatal-tum* and fem. קָטַלְתֶּן *qētáltén* = *qatáltun*. All these endings are certainly nothing else than the corresponding personal pronoun. Before suffixes the plural ending of the second person has maintained itself in the more ancient form *-tû* (without the status-affix, but with the long vowel which has resulted from the doubling of the casus-affix), comp. קָטַלְתִּינִי *qētáltî-nî* = *qaṭal-t-u-u-nî*. The first person has קָטַלְתִּי *qātáltî* = *qaṭal-tî* (which has probably arisen from *qaṭal-kî*), plur. קָטַלְנָּה *qātálnû* = *qaṭal-nû*. — The perfect of the intransitive, as קָבַד *kāβéd* = *kabida gravis erat* almost always has in the originally closed syllables *a* instead of *i*, and hence differs from קָטַל *qātál* only in the pause of the 3. fem. and 3. plur., where according to §. 21 the penult is heightened. Comp. קָבַדְתָּ *kāβédû*, but in pausa קָבַדְתָּ *kāβédû*, in the transitive קָטַלְתָּ *qātálû*. — The other intransitive form however with *u*, as קָטַן *qātôn parvus erat* = *qaṭana*, always retains this vowel, e. g. 1. sing. קָטַנְתִּי *qātōntî*, 2. plur. masc. קָטַנְתֶּם *qētōntém*, 3. plur. קָטַנְתֶּן *qātēnú*, in pausa קָטַנְתֶּן *qātōnú*.

§. III. In order to connect the perfect with a preceding future or imperative, and to give it an

<sup>1</sup> \*Whenever this form occurs in the text, it is rejected by the Qērî, e. g. הָלַכְתָּ (הַלְכָה) Jer. xxxi, 21; נָתַתָּ Ez. xvi, 18; יָלַדְתָּ verse 20.

analogous signification, ׀ *vě* is prefixed and the accent is transferred to the final syllable. This change of accent however effects no other vocal alteration than that which is indispensably necessary (§. 46), namely that the now toneless syllable should retain the originally short instead of the heightened vowel, e. g. קָטַנְתָּ *qātōnta parvus eras*, קָטַנְתָּ׀ *věqātōntá*.<sup>1</sup> The removal of the accent does not take place in pausa, according to §. 21, nor, according to §. 18, when the following word with which it is closely connected begins with an accented syllable.

§. 112. The fundamental form of the constr. infinitive, the imperative and future in the regular transitive verb is *qutla* (transposed *qtula*), but in the intransitives it is *qatla* (transposed *qtala*). The form *qitla* is only confined to some irregular stems. Thus arises the infinitive קָטַנְתָּ *q(ě)tōl = qtul[a] = qutla*. The auxiliary sound has established itself here so firmly, that it even remains in cases where it could be dispensed with e. g. in בָּנָפֹל *bi-něfōl in cadendo*. It was only impossible<sup>2</sup> for it to enter after a prefixed *li*, or before gutturals *la*<sup>3</sup>, which already at an early period formed with the infinitive a kind of gerundium. Comp. לִי־נָפֹל *li-npōl cadendo*, לֹא־חָתַם *la-htóm obsignando*. Even when the vowel stands after the first consonant, as is the case before affixes with an initial vowel, a half vowel is inserted after the second consonant, because it had become customary

<sup>1</sup> \*An example which really occurs is קָטַנְתָּ׀ Ex. xviii, 23.

<sup>2</sup> \*See however Jer. i, 10; xlvi, 4, and Delitzsch on Ps. xl, 15.

<sup>3</sup> \*Nevertheless in this case, an inserted half vowel, *ǎ*, after 'Aleφ *ě*, almost always follows the guttural, comp. לֹא־חָתַם *la-h(ǎ)rōy interficiendo*, לֵא־חָתַם *le-(ě)χól edendo*. But this insertion of a half vowel after the guttural has a different reason from the assumption of an auxiliary vowel in the infinitive, compare §. 55.

to regard the form as dissyllabic; comp. fem. קָרְבָּה *qor(ē)βā* *appropinquare* = *qurbata*, with suffixes קָטְלוּ *qot(ē)lō'* = *qutla-hū*. The form with *a* instead of '*u*' is very rare even in the intransitive verb. But when it occurs *a*, according to vocal laws, can become *i* or *e*. E. g. שָׁכַב *š(ē)χab* *jacere* = *škaba*, *šakba*, in the fem. אָהַבָּה *'ah(ā)βā* *amare* = *'ahba-ta*, שִׁיןָּה *šin(ē)'ā* *odisse*, חָמְלָה *hem(ē)lā* *parcere*.

§. 113. The imperative, which even in primitive Semitic had lost its final vowel, is likewise קָטַל *q(ē)tōl* = *qtul* = *qutl*, although the Hebrew forms with suffixes presuppose a final vowel *i* = *u*, as in the future. The intransitives regularly have *a* as a stem-vowel, e. g. כָּבַד *k(ē)βād* = *kbad*, *kabd*. The feminine is formed by adding the ending *ī'* (§. 114), the masc. plur. and fem. plural by adding respectively m. *ū'* (§. 110) and f. *nā* (§. 114). The original position of the vowel in *qutl* remains before the endings of which the initial sound is a full vowel, but a superfluous half vowel is inserted after the second consonant and the *u* is generally attenuated to *i*. It is rarely retained as *o* in such forms מוֹלְכָה *mol(ē)χū* *regnate* = *mulk-ū*. Thus arise the 2. fem. קָטְלִי *qit(ē)lī'* = *qutl-i*, 2. plur. masc. קָטְלוּ *qit(ē)lū* = *qutl-ū*, 2. plur. fem. קָטְלֵנָּה *q(ē)tōlnā* = *qtul-na*, from the intransitive כָּבַדְנָה *k(ē)βādñā* = *kbad-na*.

§. 114. The future is formed by subjoining the affixes of the *casus*, *status* and *genus* to the monosyllabic stem, and by prefixing the personal pronouns, among which is the fem. *ta*. The theme appears either without an ending, i. e. as an accusative, in the form *qtula*, or with the nominative ending as *qtul-u*, or with the indefinite affix as *qtula-m*, *qtula-n*, or finally with the elision of the final vowel as *qtul*. The fundamental

form of the jussive and of the future with *vav consecutivum* is *qtul*, that of the cohortative, sometimes also before suffixes, is *qtulan*. The forms *qtula* and *qtul-u*, since they lose their final vowel according to Hebrew vocal laws, can no longer be discriminated from each other. Hence only this is certain, that before almost all suffixes the form *qtulu* appears, although with the modification of its *u* to *i*. The 3. sing. masc. *yiqṭōl* = *ya-qtul-u* has certainly arisen by prefixing the pronominal root of the third person *ya* = *va*, likewise the 3. sing. fem. *tiqṭōl* = *taqtul-u* by prefixing the feminine *ta*, which in this case may not be suffixed, as there would then be no discrimination between the future and perfect. The 3. plur. masc. *yiqṭōlū* = *ya-qtul-u-u* indicates the plural, as in the noun and the perfect, through the twofold repetition of the nominative affixes, to which also the indefinite affix *n* = *m* is sometimes subjoined, comp. *yidrēḡūn* *calcabunt* = *ya-druk-u-u-na*. The 3. plur. fem. *tiqṭōlna* = *ta-qtul-na* is very much mutilated, since it was originally *ta-qtul-â-na* = *ta-qtula-[t]a-[t]a-ma*. This form may perhaps still be presupposed from *tiqṭōlnā* which frequently occurs in the Pentateuch.<sup>1</sup> Since the gender is here already indicated in the ending the feminine prefix *ta* is to be regarded only as a pleonasm, hence the form *yiqṭōlnā* = *ya-qtul-na* also occurs a few times (but always in Aramaic and Arabic).— The second person prefixes the pronominal root *ta* in every case to the stem, to which it subjoins in the masc. and fem. plur. the same endings, as in the third

<sup>1</sup> The Aramaic furnishes the proof of this. One only needs to compare the Chaldaic *yiqṭōlān* with the *stat. abs.* fem. plur. *malkān*, whose ending has the same sound, and remember what is said in §. 93 Rem. in regard to the origin of the latter form.



person; on the other hand it subjoins to the fem. sing. *î* as affix of the gender (perhaps = *hî*); thus arise 2. masc. sing.  $\text{תִּקְטֹל}$  *tiktól* = *ta-qtul-u*, 2. fem. sing.  $\text{תִּקְטְלִי}$  *tiktēlî* = *ta-qtul-î*, rarely with the addition of the indefinite affix  $\text{תִּקְטְלִינִי}$  *tiktēlînî* = *ta-qtul-î-ma*, 2. plur. masc.  $\text{תִּקְטְלוּ}$  *tiktēlû* = *ta-qtul-u-u*, rarely  $\text{תִּקְטְלוּנִי}$  *tiktēlûnî* = *ta-qtul-u-u-ma*, 2. plur. fem.  $\text{תִּקְטְלֵנָּה}$  *tiktēlnā* = *ta-qtul-na*. — The first person of the sing. and plur. are respectively indicated by prefixing the abbreviated pronominal stems *'a* and *na* to the root, e. g. 1. sing.  $\text{אֶקְטֹל}$  *'eqtól* = *'iktól* = *'a-qtul-u*, 1. plur.  $\text{נֶקְטֹל}$  *niqtól* = *na-qtul-u*. — The intransitives have the vowel *a* in the future, comp.  $\text{יִקְבֹּד}$  *yikbād* = *ya-kbad-u*,  $\text{יִקְטֹן}$  *yikqtān* = *ya-qtan-u*.

§. 115. The cohortative scarcely ever occurs except in the first person<sup>1</sup>, hence  $\text{אֶקְטְלֵא}$  *'eqtēlā* = *'a-qtula-m agedum interficiam!*  $\text{נֶקְטְלֵא}$  *niqtēlā* = *na-qtula-m interficiamus!* It is also found in the imperative, e. g.  $\text{שֹׁמְרָהּ}$  *šom(ē)rā custodi* = *šumra-m*,  $\text{שִׁבְבָהּ}$  *šib(ē)βa cuba* = *šikba-m*, *sakba-m*. — The jussive, is found almost exclusively in the second and third person, and is based upon the form *yaqtul* without a final vowel. Hence in the *qal* of the regular verb, after the falling away of all the final vowels in Hebrew, it can no longer be externally distinguished from the ordinary form. This is also the fundamental form of the *futurum consecutivum* or the historical mode, which is joined by *va* and the doubling of the following consonant to the preceding narrative. The accent should then be drawn back upon the penult. This however does not take place when the penult is a closed syllable,

<sup>1</sup> \*The cohortative of the 3. person only occurs in Ps. xx, 4, Job. xi, 17, Jes. v, 19.

hence in the qal of the entire regular verb, e. g.  $\text{וַיַּיְq̄t̄ól}$  *et interfecit* = *va-ya-qt̄ul*,  $\text{וַא'eq̄t̄ól}$  *et interfeci* = *va'a-qt̄ul*.

§. 116. The infinitive absol. and the active participle have arisen from the dissyllabic form. The infin. absol. is  $\text{q̄t̄ól}$  = *qat̄ála*, and the active participle qal is  $\text{q̄t̄él}$  = *qat̄ila*, which in the feminine has either  $\text{q̄t̄ēlá}$  or  $\text{q̄t̄ēlā}$  = *qat̄ila-ta*, but mostly  $\text{q̄t̄āl(e)ḥ}$  = *qat̄al-ta*, in the plural  $\text{q̄t̄ēlím}$  = *qat̄il-ím*. The active participle of the intransitives has just the same form as their perfect. Comp.  $\text{yāšēn}$  *dormiens* = *yašina*,  $\text{yāḡór}$  *timens* = *yagura*. — The only remnant of the passive in the qal is the participle  $\text{q̄t̄úl}$  *occisus* = *qat̄úla*.

§. 117. Through the prefixing of *na* to the stem *qtala*, or *hin*, when the first radical consonant retains its vowel, the *niḡal* conjugation arises, which has a reflexive, reciprocal and passive signification. The perfect is  $\text{niqtal}$  = *na-qtala*, and is conjugated just as in the qal. The participle  $\text{niqtál}$ , fem.  $\text{niqtālā}$  = *na-qtala-ta*, generally  $\text{niqtāl(e)ḥ}$  = *na-qtal-ta*, is specially indicated only by the heightening of the radical vowel through which the nominal forms are usually discriminated from the purely verbal. The fundamental form of the infinitive, imperative and future of the *niḡal* must prefix *hin*, since it retains both radical vowels. Thus arise the imperative  $\text{hiqqātél}$  = *hin-qatil*, plur.  $\text{hiqqātēlú'}$  = *hin-qatil-ú'*, the infinitive estr. (which often serves for the absol.)  $\text{hiqqātél}$  = *hin-qatila*, the infin. abs.  $\text{hiqqātól}$  = *hin-qa-tála*, with which nevertheless the form  $\text{niqtól}$  = *naqtála* occurs, which has arisen as above by prefixing *na*. Before

the prefixes of the future according to §. 35 the aspirate is elided. Thus we have the future  $\text{יִקְרָא} \text{ yiqqāṭēl} = y\check{e}\text{-hin-qāṭēl} = \text{yu-hin-qatīlu}$ , the inflection of which is entirely analogous to that of the future qal (also 1. sing.  $\text{יִקְרָא} \text{ 'eqqāṭēl}$ ). The 2. and 3. fem. plur. has  $\text{תִּקְרָאֵנָה} \text{ tiqqāṭālnā} = \text{tu-hin-qatal-na}$ , very rarely  $\text{תִּקְרָאֵלְנָה} \text{ tiqqāṭēlnā} = \text{tu-hin-qatīl-na}$ . In pausa the future is generally  $\text{יִקְרָא} \text{ yiqqāṭāl}$ . When the accent is drawn back through the prefixing of *vav consecutivum*, it is  $\text{וַיִּקְרָא} \text{ vayyiqqāṭel}$ . — A passive has not been retained in the ni<sup>ʿ</sup>al.<sup>1</sup>

§. 118. The pi<sup>ʿ</sup>el which has been formed by doubling the second radical consonant, and which has an intensive, causative or denominative signification, has in the perfect  $\text{קִטְּלַל} \text{ qittēl} = \text{qittila}$ , although almost as frequently  $\text{קִטְּלָל} \text{ qittāl} = \text{qittala}$ . The first formation always appears where the second syllable is open (e. g.  $\text{קִטְּלֵלֹּו} \text{ qittēlū'}$ , in pausa  $\text{קִטְּלֵלֹּוּ} \text{ qittēlū} = \text{qittilū}$ ), the second where it is closed (e. g.  $\text{קִטְּלָל־תָּ} \text{ qittāl-tā}$ ). The three verbs  $\text{דִּבְּרָר} \text{ dibbār locutus est}$ ,  $\text{כִּפְּרָר} \text{ kippār expiavit}$ ,  $\text{כִּבְּבָר} \text{ kibbās larit heighten } a \text{ to Segol}$ .<sup>2</sup> — The imperative has  $\text{קִטְּלַל} \text{ qattēl} = \text{qattil}$ , fem.  $\text{קִטְּלֵלִי} \text{ qattēlī'}$ , plur.  $\text{קִטְּלֵלֹּוּ} \text{ qattēlū'}$ , fem.  $\text{קִטְּלֵלְנָה} \text{ qattēlnā}$ . The infin. cstr. (which also stands for the absol.) is likewise  $\text{קִטְּלַל} \text{ qattēl} = \text{qattila}$ , the infin. absol.  $\text{קִטְּוֹל} \text{ qattōl} = \text{qattāla}$ , the future  $\text{יִקְרָא} \text{ yēqqāṭēl} = \text{yu-qattīlu}$ , 2. and 3. plur. fem.  $\text{תִּקְרָאֵנָה} \text{ tēqqāṭēlnā}$ , the par-

<sup>1</sup> \*The corresponding seventh form of the Arabic verb *'in-gatala* has its own pass. *'unqutila*.

<sup>2</sup> \*The author considers the Segōl in this case as a mixed sound, but one can regard it with greater propriety, as an abbreviation of Zere (*e* from *ē*), so that such forms as  $\text{כִּפְּרָר} \text{ kipper}$ , are on the same level with  $\text{יִבְּבָד} \text{ 'ibbaḏ}$ ,  $\text{גִּדְּדָל} \text{ giddal}$ ,  $\text{שִׁלְּלָם} \text{ šillam}$ .

ticiples מְקַטְּלֵל *məqattél* = *mu-qattila*, fem. commonly מְקַטְּלֵת *mə-qattäl(e)* = *mu-qattal-ta*.

§. 119. The pu<sup>al</sup>, as passive of the pi<sup>el</sup> has in the perfect the infin. constr.<sup>1</sup> קַטְּלֵל *qattäl* = *quttala*, in the infin. absol. קַטְּלוּ *qattól* = *quttála*, in the future יִקְטַל *yəquttal* = *yu-quttalu*, in the participle מְקַטְּלֵל *məqattäl* = *muquttala*. — The reflexive conjugation *hiṣpa<sup>al</sup>el* arises through the prefixing of *hit* to the stem of the pi<sup>el</sup>, perf. imperative and infinitive הִיטְקַטְּלֵל *hiṣqattél* = *hit-qattila* (also, as in the pi<sup>el</sup>, הִיטְקַטְּלֵל *hiṣqattäl*), future יִהִיטְקַטְּלֵל *yihitqattél* = *yə-hiṣqattél* = *yu-hit-qattilu*, participle מִיְהִיטְקַטְּלֵל *miṣqattél* = *mə-hiṣqattél* = *mu-hit-qattila*. If the first radical consonant is a sibilant, transposition takes place (§. 25), if it is a dental, assimilation (§. 26, 3).<sup>2</sup> — Of a passive of this reflexive (*hoṣpa<sup>al</sup>*) there are only isolated remnants, e. g. הִטְתַּמָּא *huttammá* *contaminari* = *hut-tamma'a*. — The different forms which are analogous to the pi<sup>el</sup>, as the pô<sup>el</sup>, pô<sup>al</sup>, hiṣpô<sup>el</sup>, pa<sup>l</sup>él, pa<sup>l</sup>al, hiṣpa<sup>l</sup>él, pilpél etc., will be mentioned under the irregular verbs.

§. 120. The causative conjugation *hiq<sup>al</sup>* is formed by means of the prefix *ha* (in the perfect *hi*) and in many cases by the insertion of *i* as stem-vowel (§. 47, rem.), which is always accented. Thus arise the perfect הִקְטִיל *hiq-tíl* = *ha-qtíla*, *ha-qtala*, fem. הִקְטִילָה *hiqtí'la* = *ha-qtí-la-t*, but since according to §. 38 originally closed syllables could have no long vowel, the 2. sing. remains

<sup>1</sup> \*This form is purely imaginary since the only infin. pu<sup>al</sup> of a strong verb is קָטַל Gen. xl, 15.

<sup>2</sup> \*Both transposition and assimilation occur in הִזְזַקָה *hizzakká* = הִזְזַקָה *hizdakká* = הִזְזַקָה *hizdakká se mundavit*.

הִקְטַלְתָּ *hiqtáltā* = *ha-qtal-ta*, imperative הִקְטַל *haqtél* = *hā-qtíl*, fem. הִקְטַלְיָה *haqtílî*, plur. הִקְטַלְיָהוּ *haqtílû*, fem. plur. הִקְטַלְנָה *haqtélnā*, infin. estr. הִקְטַל *haqtíl*, infin. absol. הִקְטַל *haqtél*, fut. יִקְטַל *yaqtíl* = *yě-haqtíl* = *yu-ha-qtílu*, jussive according to §. 38 יִקְטַל *yaqtél* = *yu-ha-qtíl*, likewise יִקְטַלְיָהוּ *vay-ya-qtél*, 2. sing. fem. הִקְטַלְיָה *taqtílî*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. הִקְטַלְנָה *taqtélnā* = *tu-ha-qtíl-na*, participle מִקְטַל *maqtíl* = *mě-haqtíl* = *mu-ha-qtíla*<sup>1</sup>, fem. generally מִקְטַלְתָּ *maqtál(e)* = *mu-ha-qtal-ta*.

§. 121. The *hoḥ'al* passive of the *hiḥ'il* is in the perfect, imperative and infin. estr. הִקְטַל *hoqtál* or הִקְטַלְתָּ *huqtál* = *hu-qtala*, in the infin. absol. הִקְטַל *hoqtél* = *hu-qtíla*<sup>2</sup>, fut. יִקְטַל *yoqtál*, also יִקְטַל *yuqtál* = *yě-huqtál* = *yu-hu-qtalu*, participle, with the usual nominal heightening, commonly מִקְטַל *muqtál*, also מִקְטַלְתָּ *moqtál* = *mu-hu-qtala*.

§. 122. The quadrilaterals are wont to be conjugated after the analogy of the *pi'el*, e. g. כִּרְסֵם *kirsēm* *deparvit* = *kirsima*, future יִכְרְסֵם *yěχarsēm* = *yu-karsimu*, pass. part. מְכַרְבָּל *měχurbál* *praecinctus* = *mu-kurbala*. The form הִשְׂמַלְּלָה *hišmíl'l* *sinistrorsum vertit* = *hi-šmē'íl* follows the analogy of the *hiph'il*. The few cases in which a *ta* is prefixed to the verbal stem, as תִּרְגַּלְתִּי *tirgáltî* *ambulare feci* = *ta-rgal-tî* are perhaps also to be regarded as denominative quadrilaterals.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> \*The Arabic participle of the *hiḥ'il* (fourth form) likewise has short *i* as well as the future *muqtíl*, *yuqtílu*.

<sup>2</sup> \*An example of the constr. infin. Hoph of a strong verb is not to be found, and the only instance of an infin. absol. is הִקְטַלְתָּ *Ez. xvi, 4*.

<sup>3</sup> \*The causative form יִרְגַּל *irgál* seems to be a collateral of the *Šaḥēl* e. g. שִׁפְּטָה *inflammavit*.

§. 123. The so-called irregularities in conjugation are merely occasioned by the vocal laws of the primitive Semitic and Hebrew. The verbs *primae gutturalis* must according to §. 54 receive a compound half vowel instead of the simple one in the imperative and infinitive of the qal. This is commonly  $\check{a}$ , although after Aleph (as in the roots  $\text{הָרִי}$  *esse*,  $\text{חָיִי}$  *vivere*) it is  $\check{e}$ , comp.  $\text{עָמַד}$  '( $\check{a}$ )*mōd stā* = '*mud*,  $\text{אָסַף}$  '( $\check{e}$ )*sōf collige* = '*sup*. The volatized half vowel, which has arisen from original *a* in the 2. plur. perf. of course always becomes  $\check{a}$ , e. g.  $\text{אָמַרְתֶּם}$  '*āmartēm dixistis* = '*amar-tum*. In the future qal the original *a* of the prefix remains according to §. 53, unless *a* follows in the next syllable. In such a case, and before Aleph, *i* entered for the sake of dissimilarity in the vowels, but on account of the guttural returned again to *e*. The *i* remains unchanged only in  $\text{יִהְיֶה}$  *yihyā erit* = *yi-hya[yu]* and  $\text{יִחְיֶה}$  *yihyā vivet*. Comp.  $\text{יָחַסַר}$  *yahsōr deficiet* = *ya-hsuru*,  $\text{יִחְכַּם}$  *yeh-kām sapiet* = *yi-hkamu*, *ya-hkamu*. In both cases a half vowel which always follows the analogy of the preceding vowel (§. 55), is very often inserted after the guttural to facilitate the pronunciation. Comp.  $\text{יָעַמַד}$  *ya-( $\check{a}$ )mōd* = *ya<sup>a</sup>mu-du*,  $\text{יִחְזַק}$  *yeh( $\check{e}$ )zāq* = *yehzaqu*, *yi-hzaqu*,  $\text{יִחְזַא}$  *yeh( $\check{e}$ )zā videbit* = *yihza[yu]*. The half vowel, which has thus arisen, when followed by another half vowel in the next syllable, must become a full short vowel (§. 56), hence  $\text{יָעַמְדוּ}$  *ya<sup>a</sup>( $\check{a}$ )mēđū'* = *ya<sup>a</sup>mud-ū*,  $\text{יִחְזַקוּ}$  *yeh( $\check{e}$ )zēqū'* = *yi-hzaq-u*. In the niḻal and hiḻil the prefixes have *a* and *e* respectively, where in the regular verb they have *a* or *i*; here also the insertion of an auxiliary sound is allowable after the guttural. Comp.  $\text{נִהְפָא}$  *nehpāx subversus est* = *ni-hpaka*,  $\text{נִעְמַד}$  *ne( $\check{e}$ )mād* = *ni<sup>a</sup>-mada*, 3. plur. (§. 56)  $\text{נִעְמְדוּ}$  *ne( $\check{e}$ )mēđū'*,  $\text{הִחְסִיר}$  *hehsī'r* = *hi-hzīra*,  $\text{הִעְמִיד}$  *he( $\check{e}$ )-mī'd* =

*hi-<sup>o</sup>mîda*, יַחְסִיר *yahsî'r* = *yu-ha-hsîru*, יַעֲמִיר *ya-(ä)mî'd* = *yu-ha-<sup>o</sup>mîdu*, הוֹפֵאֵל הַיַּעֲמִיר *ho<sup>o</sup>al ho<sup>o</sup>mäd* = *hu-<sup>o</sup>mada*. Where the first radical consonant should be doubled in the *ni<sup>o</sup>al* the law mentioned in §. 28 of course takes effect, e. g. יַאֲמִיר *yē'āmîr* = *yi'-amira* = *yu-hin-'amira*. — The half vowel *ë* and the preceding *e*, when the tone is thrown forward, are easily simplified to *ä*, relatively *a*, according to §. 57, e. g. יַאֲכֵר *ye-(ë)sôr ligabit* = *yi-'sura*, 3. plur. יַאֲכֵרוּ *ye'(e)-së'rû'*, with suff. יַאֲכֵרוּהוּ *ya'(a)së'rû'hû'*, הַיַּעֲמִירָה *he'(ë)-mäd'tä* = *hi-<sup>o</sup>mad-ta*, with *vav consecutivum* יַהֲעִמְדָה *vë-ha<sup>o</sup>(ä)mäd'tä*.

§. 124. Five verbs *primae Alep* elide their first consonant in the future *gal* and in this way receive *ô = ä*. As the second vowel they have *ë (= i)*, with the exception of אָבִי and אָפִי as stems *tertiæ y* and אָמַר as *tertiæ gutturalis*, before unitive accents *a*, when the accent is drawn back *a* or *e*. They are אָבַד *perire*, אָבִי *velle*, אָכַל *edere*, אָמַר *dicere*, אָפִי *coquere*. Comp. יָאֲכֵל *yôxél* = *ya'-(ä)xél* = *ya-'kilu*, but יַאֲכַל *vayyô'xäl*, יַאֲמַר *yômár*, יַאֲמֹר *vayyô'mer*.<sup>1</sup> In the 1. sing. the *Alep* of the first radical consonant is not expressed, even in writing, comp. אָמַר *'ômár*. The form יַלְמֹר *lémôr* *dicendo* = *le-(ë)môr* is worthy of notice. Some verbs form their future in two ways, e. g. יַאֲחֹז *ye'(ë)höz* *apprehendet* and יַחֲזֵז *yôhéz*.

§. 125. The verbs *mediae gutturalis* receive a compound half vowel *ä* after the gutturals instead of a simple one, e. g. שָׂחַטוּ *šähätû* = *šahätû*. In the im-

<sup>1</sup> \*In the short verses, which in the book of Job introduce his speeches and those of his three friends, the form is *vayyô'mar* with *a* notwithstanding the drawing back of the tone.

perative and future qal they retain according to §. 53 the stem vowel *a*, comp. imper. שָׁחַטְתָּ *š(ē)ḥát*, fem. שָׁחַטְתְּ *šah(ä)t't'*, futur. שָׁחַטְתָּ *yisḥát*. On the contrary the infinitive almost always has the vowel *u*, comp. שָׁחַטְתָּ *š(ē)ḥōt*. In the pi<sup>al</sup>, pu<sup>al</sup> and hišpa<sup>al</sup> the vowel before *r* is always, before *'* commonly, before *h* scarcely ever heightened to compensate for the omission of the doubling. Comp. בֵּרַךְ *berēḥ* *benedixit* = *birrika*, מָנַעַן *mē'ēn* *denegavit* = *mū'ina*, נִשְׁבַּחְתָּ *nī'ēḥ* *blasphemavit* = *nū'īḥa*, קִשַּׁף *siḥáf* *lusit* = *siḥḥaqa*, yet כִּהָּא *kihá* and כִּהָּה *kēhá* *increpuit* = *kihaya*. פָּה].

§. 126. The verbs *tertiaie gutturalis* receive an auxiliary vowel *a* (§. 53) between an originally long vowel and the gutturals *' h ḥ* שָׁלוּחַ *šālō'(a)ḥ* = *šaláha*, שָׁלוּחָ *šalú'(a)ḥ* = *šalúḥa*, הִשְׁלִיחַ *hišlī'(a)ḥ*. The same occurs after the merely heightened *ō* of the infin. cstr. qal, e. g. שְׁלוּחַ *š(ē)lō(a)ḥ* = *šluḥa*. On the other hand the original *a* has commonly been retained before the gutturals, instead of the other short vowels. This is always the case in the imperative and future qal. In the ni<sup>al</sup>, pi<sup>al</sup> and hi<sup>al</sup> it occurs so interchangeably with *ē* (originally *i*) that *ē* commonly stands in the pausa. Comp. שָׁלַחַ *š(ē)lah*, שְׁלַחַ *yi-šlah*, שָׁלַחַ *šallē(a)ḥ* together with שָׁלַחַ *šallūh*. The participle alone always has in the *stat. abs.* *ē*, comp. שָׁלוּחַ *šólē(a)ḥ*, *stat. cstr.* שָׁלוּחַ *šólāh*<sup>1</sup>, שְׁשָׁלַחַ *mēšallē(a)ḥ*, *stat. cstr.* שְׁשָׁלַחַ *mēšallāh*. The 2. fem. perf. inserts an auxiliary vowel *a* between the final consonants (§. 55, rem.) comp. שָׁלַחַ *šālāh(a)t*.

§. 127. If the third radical consonant is an Alep, it loses its consonantal character at the end of a syl-

<sup>1</sup> \*The following forms really occur שָׁלַחַ Ps. xciv, 9; שְׁשָׁלַחַ Ps. li, 15; שָׁלַחַ Lev. xi, 7.



lable (§. 36), which becomes open and must consequently be heightened. The heightened vowel which has thus arisen is unchangeable, e. g. 3. sing. perf.  $\text{מָצָא} m\acute{a}\check{c}\acute{a} = ma\check{c}a'[a]$ , fem.  $\text{מָצָאָה} m\acute{a}\check{c}\acute{a}'\acute{a} = ma\check{c}a'a-t$ , 2. sing.  $\text{מָצָאתָ} m\acute{a}\check{c}\acute{a}-\check{t}\acute{a} = ma\check{c}a'-ta$ , in intransitives  $\text{יָרָה} y\acute{a}r\acute{e} = yari'a$ , infin.  $\text{מְצִיב} m(\check{e})\check{c}\acute{o}$ . The futur. and imper. always have the vowel *a*, e. g.  $\text{מְצִיב} m(\check{e})\check{c}\acute{a}$ , futur.  $\text{מְצִיבִי} yi-m\check{c}\acute{a}$ , with *vav consecutivum*  $\text{מְצִיבִי} vay-yi-m\check{c}\acute{a}$ , 2. and 3. plur. fem.  $\text{תִּמְצִיבֵנִי} ti-m\check{c}\acute{a}-n\acute{a}$ . The pi<sup>el</sup> always has *i* (Hebr.  $\bar{e}$ ) as its second vowel (probably for the sake of dissimilation) e. g.  $\text{תִּמְצִיב} \check{t}imm\bar{e} = \check{t}imm\bar{i}a$ ,  $\text{תִּמְצִיבֵנִי} \check{t}imm\bar{e}-\check{t}\acute{u} = \check{t}imm\bar{i}ta$ .

§. 128. The verbs *primae nun* assimilate their *n* to a following consonant except when this is a guttural. Comp.  $\text{יִפְּוֹל} yipp\acute{o}l = yi-np\acute{o}l$ ,  $\text{יִגְּשׁ} yigg\acute{s} = ying\acute{s}$ ,  $\text{יִגְּשׁ} nigg\acute{s} = ni-ng\acute{s}$ ,  $\text{יִגְּשׁ} higg\acute{s} = hi-ng\acute{s}$ ,  $\text{יִגְּשׁ} lugg\acute{s} = lu-ng\acute{s}$ . The infin. cstr. and the imperative qal commonly reject the *n*, it then has the vowel *a*. The infin. commonly appears with the feminine ending *t*. Comp. imp.  $\text{גֹּשׁ} ga\acute{s} = nga\acute{s}$ , infin.  $\text{גֹּשׁ(ת)} g\acute{s}(e)\check{t} = nga\acute{s}-ta$ ,  $\text{גֹּשׁ(ת)} ga'(a)\check{t} = nga'ta$ . The *l* of the root  $\text{לָקַח}$  is treated in the same way, fut.  $\text{יִלְקַח} yilq\acute{a}h = yi-lq\acute{a}h$ , imper.  $\text{לָקַח} lq\acute{a}h = lq\acute{a}h$ , infin.  $\text{לָקַח(ת)} lq\acute{a}h(a)\check{t} = lq\acute{a}h-t$ . The root  $\text{נָתַן}$  has in the 2. perf.  $\text{נָתַתָּ} (once 2 Sam. xxii, 41 \text{ נָתַתָּ}) n\acute{a}\check{t}\acute{a}t-ta = natan-ta$ , fut.  $\text{יִתֵּן} yitt\bar{e}n = yi-ntin$ , imp.  $\text{תֵּן} t\bar{e}n = ntin$ , infin.  $\text{תֵּן} t\bar{e}\check{t} = titt = tin-t = ntin-t$ .

§. 129. The irregularities of the verbs *mediae geminatae* are occasioned by the tendency of the language to unite two identical consonants in a double consonant. While therefore forms with one vowel place it so that the identical consonants may not be separated by it (hence *sabb*, *sibb*, *subb*, not *sbab*, *sbib*,

*sbus*), the forms with two vowels lose the second, in order that the identical consonants may fall together (hence *sabb* instead of *sabab*). Thus arise 3. sing. perf. כַּבַּב *saβ* = *sabba*, *sababa*, fem. כַּבְּבָה *sábbā* = *sababa-t*, plur. כַּבְּבוּ *sábbû* (or with the accent on the ultima *sab-bû')* = *sabab-û*. An *ô* (always accented except in the 2. plur.) is inserted before endings beginning with a consonant, which has probably arisen through the lengthening of the *a* after its transposition e. g. כַּבְּבוּתָ *sabbó'â* = *sabbâta* = *sabbata* = *sabab-ta*, כַּבְּבוּתָם *sabbó'ém*. In the imper., infin. and future the primitive position of the vowel after the first consonant remains, hence infin. cstr. כַּבַּב *sōβ* = *subb[a]*, imper. כַּבַּב *sōβ* = *subb*, fem. כַּבִּי *sōbbî*, plur. כַּבִּי *sōbbû*, plur. fem. כַּבִּינָה *subbāna*, as in the future. Nevertheless besides the form which has arisen in this way in the future יָכַב *yāsōβ* = *ya-subb*, הַכַּבִּי *tā-sōbbî* = *ta-subb-î*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. הַכַּבִּינָה *təsubbānā*, which is probably formed after the analogy of the verbs *tertia* *v*, *y*, with *vav consecutivum* נִכְבַּב *vayyāsoβ* = *ya-subb*, there is a second form, in which the vowel originally stood after the second consonant, comp. יָכַב *yissōβ* = *ya-sbubu*, הַכַּבִּי *tissəβî* = *ta-sbub-î*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. הַכַּבִּינָה *tissōβnā* = *ta-sbub-na*. The intransitives here also have *a* in the infinitive, imperative and future, before which for the sake of dissimilation the prefix *ya* becomes *yi*, as in the regular verb. Comp. מָרַר *mar* = *marr*, fut. יִמְרַר *yēmār* = *yi-marru*, according to the second formation יִדְּלַל *yiddāl* = *yi-dlalu*. The infin. absol. כַּבְּבוּב *sāβó'β* and the two participles כַּבְּבוּב *sōβó'β* and כַּבְּבוּב *sāβû'β* are regular.

§. 130. In the *niḥal* the identical consonants have been united throughout; the prefix *na* retains its original vowel. Hence 3. sing. perf. נָכַב *nāsáβ* = *na-sabba*, fem. נָכַבָה *nāsábbā* = *na-sabba-t*, 2. sing. נְכַבּוּהָ *nəṣab-*

*bô'ṣā*, 2. plur. נְסַבְּוֹדֵם *nēsabbôḏém*, part. נָסַב *nāsáḅ* = *na-sabba*, fem. נְסַבְּא *nēsabbá*, imp. הִסָּב *hissáḅ* = *hin-sabb*, infin. הִסָּב *hisséḅ* = *hin-sibbā*, fut. יִסָּב *yis-sáḅ* = *yin-sab* = *yu-hin-sabbu*, 2. fem. sing. תִּסָּבִי *tissábbî*, 2. and 3. fem. plur. תִּסָּבְיָנָה *tissabbānā*. The perfect and participle have become so similar to the regular 3. perf. qal, that sometimes by an erroneous analogy they receive *i* or *u* instead of *a* as the second vowel, comp. perf. נָקַל *nāqél* and נָקַל *nāqál* = *na-qalla*, נָגַל *nāḡól* = *na-gulla*, part. נָמַס *nā-més* = *na-missa*. The forms with *ó* in the imperative and future have probably arisen after the analogy of the stems *mediae var.* In the infinitive they could be the characteristic formation of the infin. absol. Comp. הִבְּוֹז *hibbóz* = *hin-bázz*.

§. 131. The *hiḡ'il* of the verbs *mediae geminatae* according to §. 38 never has an *í*, but commonly *ē*, sometimes *a*. Comp. perf. הִסָּב *hēséḅ* = *hi-sibba*, fem. הִסָּבָה *hēsébbā* = *hi-sibba-t*, also הִסָּבָה *hēsábbā* = *hi-sabba-t*, 2. sing. הִסָּבְוֹדָה *hūsibbôḏā*, infin. הִסָּב *hāséḅ* = *ha-sibba*, imper. הִסָּב *hāséḅ* = *ha-sibb*, fem. הִסָּבִי *hāsébbî*, futur. יָסָּב *yāséḅ* = *ya-sibbu*, with *vav consec.* יִסָּב *vayyáseḅ*, 2. fem. תִּסָּבִי *tāsébbî*, 2. and 3. fem. plur. תִּסָּבְיָנָה *tēs-sibbāna*, the participle prefixes singularly enough the vowel *i*, נָסַב *mēséḅ* = *misibba*. — The passive has הִסָּב *húsáḅ* = *hú-sabba*, fem. הִסָּבָה *húsábbā*, with an unchangeable *ú* perhaps after the analogy of the *primae var.*

§. 132. These verbs seldom form a *pi'el* and its related conjugations, but most commonly a *pô'el*, its passive *pô'al* and reflexive *hiṣpô'el*, of which the *ó* = *á* is probably to be regarded as a compensative lengthening for the doubling which has fallen out, thus avoiding the triple repetition of the same consonant. Compare סָבַב *sôḅéḅ* = *sáhiba* = *sabbiba*, passive

סָבַב *sóβáβ* = *sábaba*, reflexive הִסְבִּיב *históβēβ* = *hit-sábiba*. — Sometimes also the doubling of the entire root appears in its primitive monosyllabic form (*pilpēl*, *pulpal*, *hiṣpalpēl*), e. g. גִּלְגֵּל *gilgēl* = *gil-gila*, חִטְגַּלְגֵּל *šó(ó)šáʿ* = *šúʿ-šáʿa*, הִחְגַּלְגֵּל *hiṣgalgēl* = *hit-gal-gila*.

§. 133. The verbs *primae v* are divided into three classes. *a*) Some have *a* in the future and imperative, otherwise however they are influenced only by the universal vocal laws. Hence they have the perfect יָרַשׁ *yāraš* = *varaša*, infin. יִרֶשׁ *y(ē)rōš* = *vruša*, imper. יִרַשׁ *y(ē)raš* = *vraš*, fut. יִירַשׁ *yíráš* = *yivraš*, *niḥʿal* יִירַשׁ *nōráš* = *na-vraš*, fut. יִירַשׁ *yivvārēš* = *yu-hin-varišu*, *hiḥʿil* הוֹשִׁיב *hōšīβ* = *ha-všība*, fut. יוֹשִׁיב *yō-šīβ*, with *vav consecutivum* וַיּוֹשֵׁב *vayyōʿšēβ*, jussive יוֹשֵׁב *yōšēβ*, *hoḥʿal* הוֹשֵׁב *hūšáβ* = *hu-všaba*. In the *hiṣpaʿēl v* can either remain or become *y*. *b*) Others which have the vowel *i* in the infinitive, imperative and future, reject the *v* before the second consonant in these forms, e. g. of יָשַׁב *yāšáβ* = *vašaba*, imper. שֵׁב *šēβ* = *[v]šib*, fut. יֵשֵׁב *yēšēβ* = *yišib* = *ya-[v]šibu*, with *vav consecutivum* וַיֵּשֵׁב *vay-yēšēβ*, 2. fem. תֵּשֵׁב *tēšēβī*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. תֵּשֵׁבָנָה *tēšáβnā*. The infinitive usually has a feminine ending, comp. דָּע *dē(a)ʿ* *scire* = *[v]dīʿa*, commonly דָּעָה *daʿ(a)ʿ* = *[v]daʿ-*ta**, שָׁבָה *šā-β(e)ʿ* = *[v]šab-*ta**. In like manner an imperative is formed from הָלַךְ *hā-láχ* *ivit*, לֵךְ *lēχ*, fut. יֵלֵךְ *yēlēχ*, infin. לָךְ *lāχ(e)ʿ*, *hiḥʿil* הוֹלֵךְ *hólíʿ*. — In the remaining conjugations there is no discrimination between the second and first classes. *c*) A few verbs assimilate their *v* to the succeeding consonant, and so exactly follow the analogy of the verbs *primae nun*, e. g. יָצַח *yācáḥ* *combussit* = *va-çata*, fut. יִצַח *yiççáḥ* = *yi-vçat*, *hiḥʿil* הִצַּח *hiççíʿ* = *hi-vçita*. Sometimes this formation occurs along with the other two.

§. 134. The few verbs *primae yod*: יטב *bonum esse*, ילל *ululare*, ינק *sugere*, יצר *formare*, יקץ *evigilare*, ישר *rectum esse*, are only distinguished from the *primae v* of the first formation in this that they have  $\acute{e} = a-y$  instead of  $\acute{o} = a-v$  in the hiç'il, e. g. הִלְלִיל *hél'il ululavit = ha-yl'ila*. The future qal, as יִצַר *yîçár = yi-yçaru* has with *vav consecutivum* נִצַר *vayyîçer*.

§. 135. The verbs *mediae v* have in the perfect קָם *qâm = qa[v]ama*, fem. קָמָה *qámā = qa[v]ama-t*, plur. קָמִי *qámû = qa[v]am-û*, 2. sing. קָמְתָה *qám-tā = qám-ta* (§. 38) = *qa[v]am-ta* etc. The intransitive form is מָתָה *méç = ma[v]ita*, fem. מָתָה *méçā*, 2. sing. מָתָה *máttā*, or בּוֹשׁ *bôs = ba[v]uša*, fem. בּוֹשָׁה *bóšā*, 2. sing. בּוֹשְׁתָה *bóštā*. The participle has the same form as the perfect. The infin. absol. has קֹם *qôm = qâm = qa[v]âma*, the infin. constr. קֹמ *qûm = quvma*, in like manner the imperative, in the fem. plur. קֹמְנָה *qóm-nā = qum-na* (§. 38). The fut. is יִקֹּם *yāqûm = yaqrumu*, 2. fem. תִּקְוְמִי *tāqûmî*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. תִּקְוְמָה *tā-qómna = ta-qum-na = ta-qûm-na*, also תִּקְוְמִינָה *tēqûmännā* (§. 129 note). The apocopated future form, which even in the primitive Semitic had no final vowel, was compelled to shorten its *û*, §. 38, hence יִקֹּם *yāqom*, with the accent upon the following word, and נִקְוֵם *vayyā-qom = ya-qum = ya-qûm*. In an accented syllable the *u* which has thus arisen must of course be heightened, hence יִקֹּם *yāqôm = ya-qum*. — The intransitives have *a* in the infinitive, imperative and future, e. g. בּוֹשׁ *bôs = báš = braš* (§. 32, 2), fut. יִבּוֹשׁ *yēbôs = yi-báš, yi-bvašu*, יבּוֹא *yābô' = ya-bá', ya-bva'u*. The niç'al has נִקְוֵם *nāqôm = naqâma = na-qvama*, infin. and imper. הִקְוֵם *hiqqôm = hin-qâm = hin-qa[v]am*, fut. יִקְוֵם *yiqqôm = yinqâm = yu-hin-qa[v]amu*, hiç. הִקְוֵם *hēqîm = hiqyim = hi-qvima*, fut. יִקְוֵם *yāqîm = yu-ha-qvimu*,

2. fem. תְּקַמִּי *tāqimī*, 2. and 3. plur. fem. תְּקַמְנָה *tāqēmnā* = *ta-qim-na* = *ta-qim-na*, partic. מְקַמֵּם *mēqim*, with the prefix *hi* instead of *ha*, as in the verbs *mediae geminatae*, הוֹפֵה *hūqām* after the analogy of the verbs *primae v.* In the perfect of the niḥ'al and hiḥ'il an *ô* occurs before the endings beginning with a consonant in the same manner as in the *med. gemin.*, comp. נְקַמְמוּ *nequmô'ā* for *neqômô'ā*, §. 40, הִקְמִמוּ *hāqimô'ā*. — Instead of the pi'el, pu'al and hiṣpa'el in which *vv* almost always becomes *yy*, the conjugations pa'lēl, pa'lal and hiṣpa'lēl most commonly occur, e. g. קִמְמָה *qômēm* = *qavmima* = passive קִמְמָם *qômām* = *qavmama*, reflexive הִקְמִמְמוּ *hiṣqômēm* = *hit-qavmima*. Sometimes also the pilpēl stands for the pi'el, e. g. כִּלְכֵּל *kilkēl* = *kil-kila*.

§. 136. The verbs *mediae y* only differ in the qal from the *mediae v.* Together with the perfect בָּן *bân* = *ba[y]ana* a form בִּין *bîn*, 2. sing. בִּינֹה *bînô'ā* occurs. In the infin. and imp. the forms בִּין *bîn* = *biyn* occur, in the fut. יִבְיֶן *yāβīn* = *ya-byinu*, with *vav consecutivum* יִבְיֶן *vayyāβēn*, jussive יִבֵּן *yāβēn* = *ya-bin* = *ya-bîn* = *ya-byin*, comp. §. 38.

§. 137. In Hebrew the verbs *tertiæ vav* have become *tertiæ yod* throughout, with the single exception of the 1. person sing. perf. שָׁלַחְתִּי *šālāvtī*, *requievi* from the root שָׁלַח. After the rejection of the vowel consonant and the final vowel of the qal perfect the preceding *a* is heightened to *ā*, comp. גָּלַחְתִּי *gālā'ā* = *gala[ya]*, fem. originally גָּלַחְתִּי *gālā'ā*, which form has scarcely been retained except before suffixes, = *galat* = *galāt* = *gala[y]a-t*, which is otherwise almost always expanded after the false analogy of the regular verb to גָּלַחְתָּ *gālā'ā*, plur. גָּלַחְתֶּם *gālū'* = *gala[y]ū'*, 2. sing. גָּלַחְתָּ *gālū'*.

*gālî* גָּלִי *ṣā* = *gālêṣā* = *galay-ta* etc. In the imperative, infinitive and future the vowel *a* is the only one which occurs after the 2. radical vowel; comp. the imper. גִּלְיָהּ *g(ē)lê* = *glay*, fem. גִּלְיָהּ *g(ē)lî* = *glay-î*, plur. גִּלְיָהּ *g(ē)lû* = *glay-û*, גִּלְיָהּ *g(ē)lānū* = *glay-na*, future גִּלְיָהּ *yīglā* = *ya-gla[yu]*, 2. fem. גִּלְיָהּ *tiylî* = *tagla[y]î*, 2. and 3. fem. plur. גִּלְיָהּ *tiylānā* = *taglay-na*, in the jussive and after *vav consecutivum* גִּלְיָהּ *yīgl(e)l* = *yagl[a]*, וַיִּגְלַע *ya'(a)ṣ* = *ya-ṣ[a]*, rarely like גִּלְיָהּ *yērd* = *yird* = *ya-rd[a]*, since these forms even in primitive Semitic had lost the third consonant and the final vowel, so that according to the Hebrew law of final sound the vowel before the third consonant must fall away. The construct infinitive generally has a feminine ending, as גִּלְיָהּ *g(ē)lōṣ* = *glât* = *glay-a-t*. Its masculine form occurs here exceptionally with *ô* = *â*, which is otherwise only usual in the infin. absol., comp. גִּלְיָהּ *r(ē)ô* = *râ[ya]*. The infinitive absolute is regularly גִּלְיָהּ *gālô'* = *galâ[ya]*, the active participle גִּלְיָהּ *gôlâ* = *gâla[ya]*, the passive גִּלְיָהּ *gâlûy* = *galûy(a)*.

§. 138. The same vowel changes take place in the niṣ'al as in the qal, the formation with Çere גִּלְיָהּ *niylêṣā* = *na-glay-ta*, גִּלְיָהּ *niylêṣî* = *na-glay-tî* is used interchangeably with גִּלְיָהּ *niylîṣā*, גִּלְיָהּ *niylîṣî*. The infinitive construct is גִּלְיָהּ *higgālôṣ* = *hin-gala[ya]a-t*, infin. absol. גִּלְיָהּ *higgālê'* or גִּלְיָהּ *niylô'*. The other conjugations also follow the analogy of the qal in their formation, except that the pu'al and hoṣ'al always, the pi'el, hiṣpa'el and hiṣ'il sometimes retain the *ê* in the perfect before endings which begin with a consonant. The hiṣ'il has retained the original radical vowel *a* throughout in the second syllable instead of *î*, hence the perfect גִּלְיָהּ *hiylâ* = *ha-gla[ya]*, imperative גִּלְיָהּ *haylê'* = *ha-glay*, apocopated גִּלְיָהּ *hây(e)l*, infinitive גִּלְיָהּ *haylôṣ* = *ha-gla[y]a-t*, infin. absol. גִּלְיָהּ

*haγlě'*, future  $\text{הַיָּגַלְאֵ} ya\gamma l\ddot{a} = yu\text{-}ha\text{-}gla[yu]$ , jussive  $\text{בַּיָּגַל} y\ddot{a}\gamma(e)l$ . In the pi<sup>el</sup> the infinitives are  $\text{הַיָּגַל} gall\acute{o}' = galla[y]a\text{-}t$ , infin. absol.  $\text{הַיָּגַל} gall\acute{e}'$ , rarely  $\text{הַיָּגַל} gall\acute{o}'$ , imperative  $\text{הַיָּגַל} gall\acute{e}' = gally$ , apocopated  $\text{גַּל} gal = gal[la]$ , future  $\text{הַיָּגַלְאֵ} y\ddot{e}\gamma all\ddot{a} = yu\text{-}galla[yu]$ , jussive  $\text{בַּיָּגַל} y\ddot{e}\gamma al = yu\text{-}gal[la]$ .

§. 139. The same suffixes are appended to the verb as to the noun, except that the suffix of the first person is not *i'* but *nî*. The old final vowels are of course retained before the suffixes. In the perfect *a* remains before *-nî*, is volatilized to *ě* before *-χá*, *-χém*, *-χén*, in all other cases it is heightened to *ā*. In the future and imperative the *i*, Hebrew *ē*, which has arisen from *u*, is volatilized before *-χá*, *-χém*, *-χén* to *ě*, before *-hā*, *-h*, it is exceptionally *ā*, *ā = a*. In the perfect the 3. fem. singular appears before the suffixes in its original form *qatala-t*, the 2. fem. sing. as *qatal-tî*, the 2. masc. fem. plural as *qatal-tû*. In the future *tiqtělu* stands before the suffixes instead of *tiqtólñā*. In the imperative the suffixes are of course appended to the form which has the vowel after the first consonant. The same is the case in the infinitive, except sometimes before *-kū*, *-kém* and *-kén*. They can be appended to the infinitive in the same way as to the noun. The so-called connecting vowel receives the accent, and the vowel changes correspond exactly to the universal vocal laws; except that in the future and pi<sup>el</sup>, according to §. 43b, the pretonic syllable is volatilized, and that *a* before *ěχá* is heightened contrary to the rule. Thus arise from *qatal* the forms with suffixes  $\text{הַיָּגַלְנִי} q\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}n\ddot{i} = qatala\text{-}n\ddot{i}$  *interfecit me*,  $\text{הַיָּגַלְכָּ} q\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{a}l\ddot{e}\chi\acute{a}$  *interfecit te = qatala-ka*,  $\text{הַיָּגַלְכֵּ} q\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{a}l\acute{e}\chi$  *interfecit te fem. = qatala-k*,  $\text{הַיָּגַלְהוּ} q\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{a}l\acute{a}\text{-}h\ddot{u}$ , generally contracted  $\text{הַיָּגַלְלוֹ} q\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{a}l\acute{o}'$  *interfecit eum = qatala-hû*,  $\text{הַיָּגַלְלֵ} q\ddot{e}\ddot{t}\ddot{a}l\acute{e}$



*qəṭālāh interfecit eam* = *qatala-h*, *qəṭālānū interfecit nos* = *qatala-nū*, *qəṭālēχém interfecit vos*, fem. *qəṭālēχén*, *qəṭālām interfecit eos* = *qatala-[hu]m*, fem. *qəṭālān*. The feminine appends the suffixes directly to the radical form. Thus arise *qəṭālāḏ-ní*, *qəṭālāḏ-hú* or assimilated *qəṭālāttú*, *qəṭālāttá* = *qatala-t-há*, *qəṭālāḏ-nú*. An auxiliary vowel is inserted before *m*, *n*, *k*, and a half vowel after a false analogy before *kā*, *kém*, *kén*, which however has no more power to change the relations of the vowels, hence *qəṭālāḏ(a)m*, *qəṭālāḏ(a)n*, *qəṭālāḏ(e)χ*, *qəṭālāḏ(ə)χá*, *qəṭālāḏ(ə)χém*, *qəṭālāḏ(ə)χén*. The 2. masc. sing. unites the suffixes *ní*, *hú*, *h*, *nú*, *m*, *n* with *qatalta* (which of course in Hebrew becomes *qəṭaltá*). — The contracted form *qəṭaltó'* occurs along with *qəṭaltáhú*, and the unheightened form *qəṭaltání*, along with *qəṭaltānī*. The 2. fem. sing. and the 1. sing. append the suffixes *ní*, *χā*, *χ*, *v*, *há*, *nú*, *χém*, *χén*, *m*, *n* to *qataltí* (Hebrew *qəṭaltí'*), the 3., 2. and 1. plural append the same suffixes, except *hú* instead of *v*, to the forms *qatalú* (Hebrew *qəṭālú'*), *qataltú* (Hebrew *qəṭaltú'*) and *qatalnú* (Hebrew *qəṭalnú'*). The following forms occur in the imperative *qot(ə)léní*, *qot(ə)léhú*, *qot(ə)láhá* or *qot(ə)láh*, *qot(ə)lénú*, *qot(ə)lém*, plural *qit(ə)lúní* etc. In the future *yiqṭəḏlé-ní*, *yiqṭəḏlé-χá*, *yiqṭəḏlé-χ*, *yiqṭəḏlé-hú*, *yiqṭəḏlé-há* or *yiqṭəḏlé-h*, *yiqṭəḏlé-nú*, *yiqṭəḏlé-χém*, *yiqṭəḏlé-m*. As concerns the plural, the suffixes are of course appended directly to *yiqṭəḏlú'*. Instead of *tiqṭólnā* the form *tiqṭəḏlú'* always appears before suffixes. The pi'el has *qittəḏlá-ni*, *qittəḏlé-χá*, *qittəḏlé-χém* etc.,

otherwise it receives the suffixes in just the same way as the *qal*.

§. 140. In the future the suffixes can also be appended to a future form, which instead of the nominative ending *i = u* had the indefinite accusative ending *an = am*, Hebrew  $\dot{a}n$ . For in the verb the indefinite form can remain before the suffixes, since the verbal suffixes are accusative, while the nominal suffixes, as genitive, must always have the noun before them in the definite form of the *status constructus*. In this way have arisen the forms  $\text{יִקְטֹלְנִי} \text{ } yiq\ddot{t}o\ddot{l}\ddot{a}n\text{-}n\acute{i}$ <sup>1</sup>,  $\text{יִקְטֹלְנִי} \text{ } yiq\ddot{t}o\ddot{l}\ddot{a}k\text{-}k\bar{a}$  = *ya-qtulan-ka*,  $\text{יִקְטֹלְנִי} \text{ } yiq\ddot{t}o\ddot{l}\ddot{a}n\acute{n}\acute{u}$  = *ya-qtulan-h\acute{u}*,  $\text{יִקְטֹלְנִי} \text{ } yiq\ddot{t}o\ddot{l}\ddot{a}n\bar{n}\bar{u}$  = *ya-qtulan-h\bar{a}*,  $\text{יִקְטֹלְנִי} \text{ } yiq\ddot{t}o\ddot{l}\ddot{a}n\acute{n}\acute{u}$  = *ya-qtulan-n\acute{u}*.<sup>2</sup>

§. 141. In the verbs *mediae geminatae* the doubling, which has fallen away at the end of the word, of course appears again before the suffixes. Compare  $\text{יִשְׁדֹּדֶם} \text{ } y\ddot{s}\ddot{o}d\ddot{d}\acute{e}\text{-}m$  = *ya-šuddi-m* = *ya-šuddu-m* from  $\text{יָשֹׁדֵד} \text{ } y\acute{a}s\ddot{o}\ddot{d}$  = *ya-šuddu*. The verbs *tertiae v, y*, as in nouns, lose their vowel endings before all suffixes, compare  $\text{גַּלְעָאֵךְ} \text{ } g\ddot{a}l\acute{e}\acute{x}\acute{a}$  = *gal(ay)a-ka*,  $\text{יִגְלִי} \text{ } yig\ddot{l}\acute{e}h\acute{u}$  = *ya-gl(ay)i-h\acute{u}*.

#### 4. INFLECTION OF PARTICLES.

§. 142. Adverbs, which were originally indicated by the accusative, are now only in a few cases recognizable as such, where the accusative ending, as  $\bar{a}$ ,

<sup>1</sup> \*Of this form there are only two examples Jer. xlix, 19. l, 41.

<sup>2</sup> \*Assimilation however does not occur in the plural, unless it be in the first person which is doubtful. See Böttcher's "Ausführl. Lehrbuch", B. II, S. 35.

*ām*, and *ô'm* has been retained, as in מַלְלָה *mál'la supra* from מַלְלַל *ma-(a)l*, הַיָּמָּה *hinnám gratis* from הָיָן *hēn = hinn*, לַיְלָה *láy'lā noctu*, יוֹמָם *yómám interdiu*, from לַיְלַל *lay(i)l*, יוֹם *yóm*. — The Hebrew has developed a later adverbial formation from the fem. of the forms in *i* = *iyya*, comp. אַחֲרָנִי *'ahōranní' retrorsum*, especially to indicate languages, as יְהוּדִי *yěhúdí' judaice*.

§. 143. The particles, which are more frequently used, have been very much shortened, but can almost all still be proved to be nouns from originally trilateral roots. — The particles הֵנָּה *hinné ecce*, יֵשׁ *yēs*, before maqqeף יֵשׁ *yēs 'it is'*, אֵין *'ay(i)n, stat. cstr. אֵין 'én 'it is not'*, עוֹד *'ôd adhuc* and אַיְיָ *'ayyē*, apocopated אֵי *'ay, stat. cstr. אֵי 'é*, like the verbs, take the suffixes in the accusative, whence the *n* of the indefinite form, which has arisen from *m*, comp. §. 140, can remain. Compare הֵנָּה *hinē-ní* (§. 27) or הֵנָּה *hinnā-n-ni*, הֵנָּה *hinnē-χá*, 3. masc. הֵנָּה *hinnô*, 1. plur. הֵנָּה *hinnē-nú'* or הֵנָּה *hinnā-n-nú'*, יֵשׁ *yēsēχá*, 3. masc. sing. יֵשׁ *yēsēnô'*, אֵין *'énā-n-ní*, אֵין *'enēχá*, אֵין *'énā-n-nú' = 'ayna-n-há'*, אֵין *'énā-n-ná = 'ayna-n-há*, אֵין *'énám*, in just the same way עוֹד *'ôdā-n-ní* etc., אַיְיָ *'ayākka = 'aya-n-ka*, אֵי *'ayyô*, אַיְיָ *'ayyám*.

§. 144. Several prepositions always appear before suffixes in the plural form, thus אַחֲרַי *'ahár post*, comp. אַחֲרָא *'ahārāχā*, תַּחַת *tal(a) infra*, e. g. תַּחַת *tahtāχā*, and בֵּין *bén inter*, of which latter however the suffixes can be appended to the singular or feminine plural, e. g. בֵּין *bénēχá* or בֵּין *bénāχā* or בֵּין *bénóχā*. — With these must not be confounded the abbreviated prepositions אֶל *'el to*, עַל *'al upon*, עַד *'ad as far as*, of which the complete forms אֶלֵי *'élé*, עַלֵי *'älé*, עַדֵי *'ädé*

are preferred in poetry, and which contrary to the general rule, §. 106, always retain their original final radical *ay* before the suffixes and so externally have the appearance of the plural forms. Comp. אֵלַי 'ēlay, אֵלַיִם 'ēlāyā, אֵלֵיהֶם 'ālēhēm (according to §. 57) אֲדַי 'ādāy etc. — The preposition עִם 'im with has besides the regular עִמִּי 'imm-ī' also the form עִמָּדִי 'immādī', and עִמָּחֶם, עִמָּהֶם 'immā-χém, 'immā-hém with a heightened instead of the usual volatized final vowel. The prepositions תַּחַת tah(a)ṯ and בְּעַד b(ē)ʿad, behind, for, between, sometimes appear with verbal suffixes, in the former even with an inserted *n*, comp. §. 143. E. g. תַּחְתָּנִי tahtēnī, תַּחְתָּנֶה tahtā-n-nā = tahta-n-hā, בְּעַדְנִי ba-ʿ(ā)ḏē-nī. — The feminine particles עִי 'ē, before maqqēf עִי 'ē 'with' and the sign of the accusative, which is the same in form, were often, even in the older literature, confounded. The former however has sprung from the root אָנִי, hence it appears with suffixes as עִי 'ittī = 'in-t-ī, while the latter is derived from the root אָרִי, whence the forms with suffixes are אִרִּי 'ōḏī, אִרְיָם 'ōḏām but with the suff. of 2. plur. אִרְיָם 'ēḏēχém.

§. 145. The much used prepositions bĕ, lĕ, and the conjunction kĕ have undergone the greatest abbreviation. According to §. 58 before a syllable with a half vowel the original short vowel maintains itself in the form of *i*, so that bi-yĕ, li-yĕ according to §. 33 become bī, lī. When it stands before a compound ševā, it takes on its vocal color. When li according to §. 112 enters a closed syllable, it appears before gutturals as la, before ālep as le. Of course nothing of this sort can happen to bĕ and kĕ. The heightened forms bā, lā, kā have sometimes been retained in the pretonic syllable especially before the demonstrative pronoun, lā has often been retained even in other cases

in the pretonic syllable, but never when the word as the first member of *stat. cstr.* has a merely secondary accent. When *ba*, *ka*, *la* stand before the pronoun *mā*, *mā*, the *m* is doubled, hence *bam-mā*, *kam-mā*, *lām-mā*, *cur?* *La* before ' *h* ' generally becomes *lā-mā*, for the sake of ensuring a distinct pronunciation, e. g. יהוה יהוה לָמָא 'ādō-nay. The forms with suffixes are בִּי *bī*, בָּךְ *bēχā*, בָּךְ *bāχ*, בִּי *bō*, בָּהּ *bāh*, בָּנוּ *bānū*, בָּכֶם *bāχēm*, בָּהֶם *bāhēm*, contracted בָּם *bām*, rarely בָּהֶםמָא *bāhēm-mā*, בָּהֶן *bāhēn*, also בָּהֶן *bahēn* or בָּהֶנָּא *bahēnnā*. *Lē* follows the same analogy. On the contrary *kē* unites most of the suffixes in the form which is compounded with the indefinite pronoun *kēmō*, *kāmō*, hence כָּמוֹנִי *kāmō'-nī*, כָּמוֹן *kā-mō'-χā*, כָּמוֹנֵהוּ *kā-mō'-hū*, כָּמוֹנֵהוּ *kā-mō'-hā*, כָּמוֹנֵנוּ *kā-mō'-nū*, כָּמוֹנֵכֶם *kē-mō-χēm* together with the more frequent כָּכֶם *kāχēm*, כָּמוֹנֵהֶם *kē-mō-hēm*, together with כָּהֶם *kā-hēm*, כָּהֶנָּא *kā-hēnnā*. In poetry יָמוֹ *bē-mō*, יָמוֹ *lē-mō* occur, although not before suffixes. — The conjunction *vē* is often heightened before the accented syllable, in pausa, and between closely connected notions<sup>1</sup>, to *vā*, before compound šewa it takes on the color of the same, before half vowels as well as before labials it becomes *ū*, it blends with following *yē* to *vī*, before the *futur. conversivum* it becomes *va* with the doubling of the following consonant, or *vā* as a recompense for the doubling.

<sup>1</sup> \*E. g. Ps. x, 6 יָדָר לְדָר *lēđōr vāđōr*; Gen. i, 2 וְבֹהוּ *vābōhū*; Deut. iv, 28 וְאָבָן *vā'ēzen*; Gen. viii, 3 וְשִׁיב *hālō'χ vāšō'β*. Comp. Böttcher's Lehrbuch, Band I, §. 600 and as regards the influence of the separative or unitive accent Delitzsch's Commentary to Ps. lv, 10.

V.

SYNTAX.

§. 146. Since the ancient case-endings have fallen away, the genitive relation is only externally recognizable through the vocal changes, which the governing word undergoes by reason of its close connection with the following word in the *stat. constr.* This relation is indicated in the masc. plur. by the falling away of the indefinite affix *m*. The word which stands in the *stat. cstr.* does not receive the article, because as such its form is already definite, hence the article is only placed before the governed word. Comp. הַמַּלְאָכִים הַקְּטָנִים 'āḇ(e)ḏ hammāl(e)χ 'the servant of the king'. Of course nouns with suffixes always have a definite signification.

§. 147. The adjective is placed after the noun and the article is repeated before it, e. g. הַשֹּׁרֵר הַגָּדוֹל haš-šó'r hag-gāḏó'l *taurus magnus*. — The comparative degree is expressed by מִן *min*, which follows the positive and is prefixed to the word with which the comparison is made, e. g. מִדְּבָשׁ מֵהוֹק māḏó'q *mid-dḡḇāš dulcior melle*.

§. 148. The accusative ending has been retained only to a very limited extent in the accusative of the direction. Otherwise this case is only indicated in

nouns, which are rendered definite by the article, personal affixes or the *stat. cstr.*, by placing  $\text{הַ$  'eš, or when accented  $\text{הַ$  'eš before it, e. g.  $\text{הַשָּׁמַיִם הַשְּׁמֹרֵתִים}$  'eš *haš-šāmáy(i)m coelos*.

§. 149. The relative 'ăšer often simply indicates the relation which is then more exactly defined by a following suffix or adverb, e. g.  $\text{בְּיַרְדֵּן זָרְעוֹ הַיְּרֵכָה}$  'eš *'ăšer zar'ó' βó, arbor in qua est semen ipsius*. It can also fall away, particularly in the poetical style.

§. 150. As has already been remarked the masculine form of the numbers from 3—10 are construed with the feminine and vice versa. One is treated as an ordinary adjective. The numerals from 2—10 on the contrary stand before the object numbered in the *stat. cstr.* or *absolutus*. In later books, and more rarely, they are also placed after it. The tens, 20—90 always stand in the *stat. abs.* either before or after the thing numbered; in the former case that which is numbered can be put in the singular. With numbers compounded of units and tens the object numbered is either placed after each numeral, according to the rules of each, or it is put after the tens in the singular, although in the later books it is also placed before the units in the plural. — There are no proper ordinal numbers for the numerals above ten. — Distributives are indicated by the doubling of the number.

§. 151. With reference to the use of the tenses it should be observed, that the first tense, the perfect, expresses 1) the past and completed, even when it extends to the present, 2) the certainty of an assurance, and 3) that which we express through the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive. The second tense,

the so-called future, indicates 1) the future, 2) the present especially as an expression of permanent conditions, 3) sometimes even the past, when it expresses like the Latin imperfect, a continuous action, 4) our present, and sometimes 5) imperfect subjunctive. Moreover it is placed after the particles  $\text{אָז}$  'āz *tunc* and  $\text{אַרְעִם}$  *ʾā-r(e)m nondum*.

§. 152. If a chain of thought has been begun in the future or imperative, it is continued in the perfect with the conjunction  $\text{וְגַם}$  and the moving forward of the accent, which then receives exactly the signification of the preceding future or imperative. On the other hand if a narrative begins with the perfect, it is continued in the apocopated form of the future with  $\text{וְאֵל}$ , and so that the following consonant is doubled, and the accent drawn back, if possible.

§. 153. Besides this case, the apocopated form of the future, the so-called jussive, scarcely ever occurs except in the 2. and 3. person to express a wish, a command or prohibition; the jussive is always used to express a prohibition, but never the imperative which can neither be connected with  $\text{אֲנִי}$  or  $\text{אַתָּה}$ . — The lengthened future form, cohortative, with final  $\text{אֵל}$  stands in the first person to indicate a request or an exhortation.

§. 154. The infinitive absolute is freely connected with the finite verb from the same stem. It generally precedes to strengthen the idea contained in the verb; while it follows in order to express the continuance of the action. Otherwise the infin. absol. sometimes stands as an accusative, or for the finite verb, but always in a verbal construction, hence never after prepositions or a *stat. estr.* On the contrary the infinitive



cstr. can not only govern the accusative, as a verb, but also the genitive as a noun, hence it connects itself with verbal and nominal suffixes. The subject of the action very often stands in the nominative after the infin. cstr. Through the prefixing of the prepositions *bě*, *kě* and *lě* before the infin. cstr. various subordinate sentences are formed.

§. 155. Interrogative sentences are expressed through *hă*, which has arisen from *hal*, before consonants with a half vowel *ha*, generally effecting the doubling of the following consonants, before gutturals *ha*, before gutturals with Qameç according to §. 29 *hă*. Indirect questions are expressed through *im*, and disjunctive questions through *hă* in the first and *'im* in the second member.

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## EXERCISE IN PROSE READING.

Gen. i, 1—5.

vĕ-'ēš has-šāmáy(i)m 'ēš 'ēlôhî'm bārâ Bĕ-rēšîš  
 בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת  
 vĕ-hōš(e)χ vā-βōhú šōhú hāyĕš'á Vĕ-hā-'ār(e)ç hā-'ār(e)ç.  
 הָאָרֶץ : וְהָאָרֶץ הַיְיָתָה תִהְיֶה וְכֹהוּ וְהַיָּשָׁף  
 'al pĕnē mĕrahāç(e)š 'ēlôhî'm vĕ-rú(a)h šĕhôm 'al pĕnē  
 עַל-פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל-פְּנֵי  
 va-yĕhî 'ór. yĕhî 'ór! 'ēlôhî'm: Vay-yó mer ham-máy(i)m.  
 הַמַּיִם : וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי-אוֹר וַיְהִי-אוֹר :  
 bĕn 'ēlôhî'm vay-yaβdél kî tōβ 'ēš hā-'ór 'ēlôhî'm Vay-yar  
 וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאוֹר כִּי-טוֹב וַיְבַדֵּל אֱלֹהִים בֵּין  
 yôm l-ā-'ór 'ēlôhî'm Vay-yiqrá ha-hōš(e)χ. ū-bĕn hā-ór  
 הָאוֹר וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ : וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְאוֹר יוֹם  
 βōq(e)r va-yĕhî va-yĕhî 'ār(e)β láylā qārā vĕ-l-a-hōš(e)χ  
 וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא לַיְלָה וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר  
 'āhād. yôm  
 יוֹם אֶחָד ,

## EXERCISE IN POETICAL READING.

Ps. ii.

góyî'm rāyĕš'ú' Lām-mā  
 לַמָּה רָגַשׁוּ גוֹיִם  
 ? rîq yehgú' ū-lĕ'ummî'm  
 וְלֵאמֹר יְהוָה רִיק :  
 'ār(e)ç mal(e)χé' Yīšyaççĕβ'ú'  
 יְתִיצְבוּ | מַלְכֵי-אֲרָץ

*yûhad nôsšêdû vĕ-rôzĕnî'm*  
 וְרוֹזְנִים נֹסְדוּ יַחַד  
*.mšîhó' vĕ-'al Yahrâ 'al*  
 עַל־הַיְהוָה וְעַל־מְשִׁיחוֹ׃  
*môsšerôš'émô 'eš Nĕnattĕqá*  
 נִנְתְּקָה אֶת־מוֹסְרֹתֵימוֹ  
*'ăpšôš'émô! mimmānnû vĕ-našl'ĕχā*  
 וְנִשְׁלִיכָה מִמֶּנּוּ עֲבֹתֵימוֹ׃

*yishâq b-aš-šāmáy(i)m Yôšēš*  
 יוֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׂחַק  
*lāmó. yil'árĕ 'ădônây*  
 אֲדֹנָי יִלְעֲנֵן לָמוֹ׃  
*bĕ-'appô' 'elĕ'mô yĕšabbēr 'Āz*  
 אֲזַי יְדַבֵּר אֱלֹהֵימוֹ בְּאֵפוֹ׃  
*yĕšahălĕmô. ū-ba-hūrônó'*  
 וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ יְבַהֲלֵמוֹ׃  
*malk' nāsáxtî Va-'āni*  
 וְאֲנִי נֹסַבְתִּי מִלְכִּי  
*qodsî! hār Çiyyô'n 'al*  
 עַל־צִיּוֹן הַר־קֹדְשִׁי׃

*hōq: 'el Āsappĕrâ*  
 אֲסַפְרָה אֶל־הַקֹּדֶשׁ׃  
*'attá! bĕnî 'eláy: 'āmár Yahrâ*  
 יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי בְּנֵי אֲהָרָה  
*yĕlīdt'ĕχā. hay-yôm 'ānî*  
 אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יִלְדְּתִיךָ׃

nah(ă)lāwā'ā gôyî'm vĕ-'ettĕnâ mimmännî Š(ĕ)'al  
 נַחֲלָתָךְ גוֹיִם וְאַתְנַהּ מִמֵּנִי שְׂאֵל  
 'ār(e)ç. 'aφ(ĕ)sē va-'āhuzzāwā'ā  
 אַפְסֵי-אַרְץ: וְאַחַז תִּךְ

barzāl bĕ-sēβ(e)t Tĕrō'ēm  
 תְּרַעַם בְּשֵׁבֶט בְּרוּל  
 tĕnappĕçĕm. yôçĕr ki-çĕlî  
 בְּכֵלֵי יוֹצֵר תִּנְפְצָם:

haçkî'î lû mĕlāçî'm Vĕ-'attâ  
 וְעַתָּה מַלְכִים הַשְּׁבִילוּ  
 'ār(e)ç! šôçĕtĕ' hivrūsĕrû  
 הַיּוֹסְרוּ שְׁבִטֵי אַרְץ:  
 bĕ-yir'â Yahvâ 'eš 'Iβ(ĕ)dû  
 עֲבְדוּ אֶת-יְהוָה בִּירְאָה  
 bi-rĕ'ādâ! vĕ-gî'î lû  
 וְגִילוּ בְרַעְדָּה:

ðār(e)ç vĕ-šôβĕ'dû' ye'(ĕ)nāφ pen bar Naššĕqû'  
 וְתִאֲבְדוּ דְרָךְ וְנִשְׁקוּ-בָר פֶּן-יֵאָנֶךְ אִפּוֹ  
 'appô'. ki-mĕ'at yiβ'ár ki  
 בֵּי-יַבְעַר בְּמַעַט אִפּוֹ  
 bó. hósĕ' kol 'ašĕrĕ'  
 אֲשֵׁרֵי כָל-הוֹסֵי בּוֹ:

## THE REGULAR VERB.

Perf. 3. m. <i>qāṭal</i> (in pausa <i>qāṭál</i> )	<i>šālém</i>	<i>qāṭón</i>
3. f. <i>qāṭēlá</i> (p. <i>qāṭáṭá</i> )	<i>šālémá</i> (p. <i>šālémā</i> )	<i>qāṭēná</i> (p. <i>qāṭónā</i> )
2. m. <i>qāṭál-tū</i> (p. <i>qāṭál-tū</i> )	<i>šālám-tā</i> (p. <i>šālám-tā</i> )	<i>qāṭón-tā</i> (w. v. cons. <i>vĕ-qāṭon-tū</i> )
2. f. <i>qāṭál-t</i> ( <i>qāṭál-ti</i> ), p. <i>qāṭál-t</i>	<i>šālám-t</i> (p. <i>šālám-t</i> )	<i>qāṭón-t</i>
1. <i>qāṭál-tī</i> (p. <i>qāṭál-tī</i> )	<i>šālám-tī</i> (p. <i>šālám-tī</i> )	<i>qāṭón-tī</i> ( <i>vĕ-qāṭon-tī</i> )
3. pl. <i>qāṭēl-ú'</i> (p. <i>qāṭálú</i> )	<i>šālēm-ú'</i> (p. <i>šālémú</i> )	<i>qāṭēn-ú'</i> (p. <i>qāṭón-ú'</i> )
2. m. <i>qēṭal-tém</i>	<i>šēlam-tém</i>	<i>qēṭon-tém</i>
2. f. <i>qēṭal-tén</i>	<i>šēlam-tén</i>	<i>qēṭon-tén</i>
1. <i>qāṭál-nu</i> (p. <i>qāṭál-nú</i> )	<i>šālám-nu</i> (p. <i>šālám-nú</i> )	<i>qāṭón-nú</i>
Imper. 2. m. <i>q(ĕ)ṭól</i>	<i>š(ĕ)lam</i> (p. <i>š(ĕ)lám</i> )	Does not occur.
2. f. <i>qit(ĕ)l-ě'</i> ( <i>qot(ĕ)l-ě'</i> )	<i>šil(ĕ)m-ě'</i>	
2. pl. m. <i>qit(ĕ)l-ú'</i> ( <i>qot(ĕ)l-ú'</i> )	<i>šil(ĕ)m-ú'</i>	
2. pl. f. <i>q(ĕ)ṭól-nā</i>	<i>š(ĕ)lám-nā</i> (p. <i>š(ĕ)lám-nā</i> )	
Imper. parag. <i>qot(ĕ)lā</i> ( <i>qit(ĕ)lā</i> , in pausa <i>q(ĕ)ṭólā</i> )		

Fut. 3. m.	<i>yî-qtôl</i>	<i>yî-slâm</i> (p. <i>yî-slâm</i> )	<i>yî-qtân</i>
3. f.	<i>ti-qtôl</i>	<i>ti-slâm</i>	<i>ti-qtân</i>
2. m.	<i>ti-qtôl</i>	<i>ti-slâm</i>	<i>ti-qtân</i>
2. f.	<i>ti-qtêl-î' (ti-qtêl-în, p.</i>	<i>ti-slêm-î' (p. ti-slâm-î)</i>	<i>ti-qtên-î'</i>
1.	<i>'e-qtôl</i>	<i>'e-slâm</i>	<i>'e-qtân</i>
3. pl. m.	<i>yî-qtêl-û' (p. yî-qtôl-û)</i>	<i>yî-slêm-û (p. yî-slâm-û)</i>	<i>yî-qtênû'</i>
3. f.	<i>ti-qtôl-nâ (yî-qtôl-nâ)</i>	<i>ti-slâm-nâ (p. ti-slâm-nâ)</i>	<i>ti-qtân-nâ</i>
2. m.	<i>ti-qtêlû' (p. ti-qtôlû)</i>	<i>ti-slêm-û (p. ti-slâm-û)</i>	<i>ti-qtên-û'</i>
2. f.	<i>ti-qtôl-nâ</i>	<i>ti-slâm-nâ</i>	<i>ti-qtân-nâ</i>
1.	<i>nî-qtôl</i>	<i>nî-slâm</i>	<i>nî-qtân</i>
Fut. parag.			
1. sg.	<i>'e-qtêlâ (p. 'e-qtôlâ)</i>		
1. pl.	<i>nî-qtêlâ (p. nî-qtôlâ)</i>		
Infim. estr.	<i>q(ê)tôl</i>	<i>š(ê)lôm (š(ê)lam)</i>	<i>q(ê)tôn</i>
Infim. abs.	<i>qâtôl</i>	<i>šâlôm</i>	<i>qâtôn</i>
Part. act.	<i>qôtêl</i>	<i>šâlem</i>	<i>qâton</i>
Part. pass.	<i>qâtûl</i>	<i>šâlûm</i>	<i>qâtûn</i>

Pi <sup>ʿ</sup> Ēl.	Pu <sup>ʿ</sup> al.	Hiṭpa <sup>ʿ</sup> Ēl.
Perf. 3. m. <i>qittēl</i> ( <i>qittāl</i> ) 3. f. <i>qittēlā</i> (p. <i>qittēlā</i> ) 2. m. <i>qittāl-tā</i> (p. <i>qittāl-tā</i> ) 2. f. <i>qittāl-t</i> 1. <i>qittāl-tī</i> 3. pl. <i>qittēlā</i> (p. <i>qittēl-ū</i> ) 2. m. <i>qittalēm</i> 2. f. <i>qittal-tēn</i> 1. <i>qittāl-nā</i>	<i>qittāl</i> <i>qittēlā</i> (p. <i>qittālā</i> ) <i>qittāl-tā</i> (p. <i>qittāl-tā</i> ) <i>qittāl-t</i> <i>qittāl-tī</i> <i>qittēlū</i> (p. <i>qittālū</i> ) <i>qittalēm</i> <i>qittal-tēn</i> <i>qittāl-nā</i>	<i>hiṭ-qattēl</i> ( <i>hiṭ-qattāl</i> ) <i>hiṭ-qattēlā</i> (p. <i>hiṭ-qattēlā</i> ) <i>hiṭ-qattāl-tā</i> <i>hiṭ-qattāl-t</i> <i>hiṭ-qattāl-tī</i> <i>hiṭ-qattēl-ū</i> <i>hiṭ-qattal-tēm</i> <i>hiṭ-qattal-tēn</i> <i>hiṭ-qattāl-nā</i>
Imper. 2. m. <i>qattēl</i> 2. f. <i>qattēl-ī</i> (p. <i>qattēl-ī</i> ) 2. pl. m. <i>qattēl-ū</i> (p. <i>qattēl-ū</i> ) 2. pl. f. <i>qattēlnā</i>		<i>hiṭ-qattēl</i> <i>hiṭ-qattēl-ī</i> <i>hiṭ-qattēl-ū</i> <i>hiṭ-qattēl-nā</i>
Imper. parag. <i>qattēlā</i>		

<p>Fut. 3. m. <i>yě-qattél</i>  3. f. <i>tě-qattél</i>  2. m. <i>tě-qattél</i>  2. f. <i>tě-qattél-í</i> (P. <i>tě-qattél-í</i>)  1. <i>'ă-qattél</i>  3. pl. m. <i>yě-qattél-ú'</i> (P. <i>ye-ya-t-tél-ú</i>)  3. f. <i>tě-qattél-nā</i>  2. m. <i>tě-qattél-ú'</i>  2. f. <i>tě-qattél-nā</i>  1. <i>ně-qattél</i></p>	<p><i>yě-qattél</i>  <i>tě-qattél</i>  <i>tě-qattél</i>  <i>tě-qattél-í</i>  <i>'ă-qattél</i>  <i>yě-qattél-ú'</i> (P. <i>yě-qattél-ú</i>)  <i>tě-qattél-nā</i>  <i>tě-qattél-ú'</i>  <i>tě-qattél-nā</i>  <i>ně-qattél</i></p>	<p><i>y-íṣ-qattél</i>  <i>t-íṣ-qattél</i>  <i>t-íṣ-qattél</i>  <i>t-íṣ-qattél-í</i>  <i>'eṣ-qattél</i>  <i>y-íṣ-qattél-ú'</i>  <i>t-íṣ-qattél-nā</i>  <i>t-íṣ-qattél-ú'</i>  <i>t-íṣ-qattél-nā</i>  <i>n-íṣ-qattél</i></p>
<p>Fut. parag.  1. sg. <i>'ă-qattélá</i> (P. <i>'ă-qattélā</i>)  1. pl. <i>ně-qattélá</i></p>		
<p>Infim. estr. <i>qattél</i> (<i>qattél</i>)</p>	<p><i>qattél</i></p>	<p><i>hiṣ-qattél</i></p>
<p>Infim. abs. <i>qattól</i> (<i>qattél</i>)</p>	<p><i>qattól</i></p>	<p><i>hiṣ-qattél</i></p>
<p>Partic. <i>ně-qattél</i></p>	<p><i>ně-qattél</i></p>	<p><i>m-íṣ-qattél</i></p>



ННФ <sup>IL</sup> .	ННФ <sup>AL</sup> .	ННФ <sup>AL</sup> .
Perf. 3. m. <i>hi-qt'íl</i> 3. f. <i>hi-qt'ílā</i> 2. m. <i>hi-qt'ál-tā</i> 2. f. <i>hi-qt'ál-t</i> 1. <i>hi-qt'ál-tī</i> 3. pl. <i>hi-qt'íl-á</i> 2. m. <i>hi-qt'al-tém</i> 2. f. <i>hi-qt'al-tén</i> 1. <i>hi-qt'ál-ná</i>	<i>ho-qt'ál (hu-qt'ál)</i> <i>ho-qt'ělá (p. ho-qt'ála)</i> <i>ho-qt'ál-tā</i> <i>ho-qt'ál-t</i> <i>ho-qt'ál-tī</i> <i>ho-qt'ěl-á'</i> <i>ho-qt'al-tém</i> <i>ho-qt'al-tén</i> <i>ho-qt'ál-nu</i>	<i>ni-qt'ál</i> <i>ni-qt'ělá</i> <i>ni-qt'ál-tā</i> <i>ni-qt'ál-t</i> <i>ni-qt'ál-tī</i> <i>ni-qt'ěl-á'</i> <i>ni-qt'al-tém</i> <i>ni-qt'al-tén</i> <i>ni-qt'ál-ná</i>
Imper. 2. sg. <i>ha-qt'él.</i> 2. f. <i>ha-qt'él-á</i> 2. pl. m. <i>ha-qt'él-á</i> 2. pl. f. <i>ha-qt'él-nā</i>	<i>ho-qt'ál</i>	<i>hiq-qāf'él</i> <i>hiq-qāf'él-á</i> <i>hiq-qāf'él-á</i> <i>hiq-qāf'él-nā</i>
Imper. parag. <i>ha-qt'íl tā</i>	<i>ho-qt'ělá</i>	

Fut. 3. pl.	<i>y-a-qt'il</i>	<i>y-o-qt'il</i> ( <i>y-u-qt'ul</i> )	<i>y-iq-qātēl</i> (P. <i>yiqqāt'ul</i> )
3. f.	<i>t-a-qt'īl</i>	<i>t-o-qt'āl</i>	<i>t-iq-qātēl</i>
2. m.	<i>t-a-qt'īl</i>	<i>t-o-qt'āl</i>	<i>t-iq-qātēl</i>
2. f.	<i>t-a-qt'īl-l-ā</i>	<i>t-o-qt'ēl-l-ā</i>	<i>t-iq-qātēl-l-ā'</i>
1.	<i>'-a-qt'īl</i>	<i>'-o-qt'āl</i>	<i>'-eq-qātēl</i>
3. pl. m.	<i>y-a-qt'īl-l-ā</i>	<i>y-o-qt'ēl-l-ā'</i>	<i>y-iq-qātēl-l-ā'</i>
3. f.	<i>t-a-qt'ēl-nā</i>	<i>t-o-qt'āl-nā</i>	<i>t-iq-qāt'ul-nā</i>
2. m.	<i>t-a-qt'īl-l-ā</i>	<i>t-o-qt'ēl-l-ā'</i>	<i>t-iq-qātēl-l-ā'</i>
2. f.	<i>t-a-qt'ēl-nā</i>	<i>t-o-qt'āl-nā</i>	<i>t-iq-qāt'ul-nā</i>
1.	<i>n-a-qt'īl</i>	<i>n-o-qt'āl</i>	<i>n-iq-qātēl</i>
Fut. parag.	<i>'a-qt'īlā</i>		
Fut. apocop.	<i>y-a-qt'ēl</i> <i>y-a-qt'īl-l-ā</i>		<i>[eay]yiqqātēl</i>
Infim. estr.	<i>ha-qt'īl</i>	<i>ho-qt'āl</i>	<i>hiq-qātēl</i>
Infim. abs.	<i>ha-qt'ēl</i>	<i>ho-qt'ēl</i>	<i>hiq-qāt'ul</i> ( <i>nī-qt'ōl</i> , <i>hiq-qātēl</i> )
Partic.	<i>m-a-qt'īl</i>	<i>m-a-qt'āl</i> ( <i>m-o-qt'āl</i> )	<i>nī-qt'āl</i>

# I N D E X E S.

## 1. NAMES.

	Pages		Pages
<b>Aben Esra</b> .....	7	<b>De Vogué</b> .....	10. 11
<b>Abulwalid</b> .....	7	<b>Dietrich</b> .....	60
<b>Abydos</b> .....	10	<b>Dillmann</b> .....	25. 63. 72
<b>Accadian</b> .....	58. 81	<b>Egyptian</b> .....	3
<b>Alting</b> .....	8	<b>Ephraimitic</b> .....	4
<b>Amharic</b> .....	1	<b>Ethiopic</b> .....	1. 3
<b>Arabic</b> .....	1. 4	<b>Euting</b> .....	VIII
<b>Aramaic</b> .....	1. 3	<b>Ewald</b> .....	5. 8
<b>Babylonian</b> .....	13. 14	<b>Fleischer</b> .....	63. 64. 80
<b>Baer</b> .....	22	<b>Geez or old Ethiopic</b> .....	1
<b>Bar-Cochba</b> .....	10	<b>Gemara</b> .....	14
<b>Bleek</b> .....	11	<b>Gesenius</b> .....	6. 8
<b>Böttcher</b> .....	4. 8. 104. 107.	<b>Green</b> .....	VII
<b>Buxtorf</b> .....	8	 	
 		<b>Hassan</b> .....	25
<b>Canaanitic or Phoenician</b> ...	1	<b>Hauranian</b> .....	12
<b>Chaldee</b> .....	1. 7	<b>Himyaric</b> .....	1
<b>Codex Babylonicus Petro-</b>		<b>Hupfeld</b> .....	11
<b>politanus</b> .....	14	 	
 		<b>Indo-Germanic</b> .....	3
<b>Danz</b> .....	8	<b>Isaiah</b> .....	6
<b>David, period of</b> .....	6	<b>Judaic</b> .....	4
<b>Davidson</b> .....	VII	<b>Jerome</b> .....	11. 14
<b>Delitzsch, Franz</b> 15. 29. 41. 67.		 	
84. 107.		<b>Keil</b> .....	5
<b>Delitzsch, Friedrich</b> .....	3. 81		

	Pages		Pages
Kimchi .....	7	Palmyrenian.....	10. 12
Kopp .....	11	Perez di Valencia.....	8
Lauth .....	9	Phoenician or Canaanitic ...	1
Lebriya .....	8	Pinsker .....	14
Lenormant .....	9	<b>Raimundus Martini</b> .....	7
Levita, Elias.....	7	Rödiger.....	6
Levy, M. A. ....	10	<b>Saadya</b> .....	7
Luzzatto, S. D. ....	72	Schröder, Paul .....	63
Lyranus, Nicolaus .....	8	Schultens .....	8
<b>Madden</b> .....	10	Simeonitic .....	4
Mandaic .....	1	Solomon, period of.....	6
Mesha .....	10	Strack .....	14
<b>Olshausen</b> .....	8. 26	<b>Talmud</b> .....	14
Origen.....	11	Tegnér .....	61
<b>Palestinian</b> .....	13. 14	<b>Vater</b> .....	8

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## 2. SUBJECTS.

**ABSTRACTS**, formation §. 81.

Accents: 1) musical notes; 2) signs of interpunctuation p. 15; importance for the exegesis, cases where they rest on the penult p. 16, and on the antepenult p. 17; classed as separatives and unitives §. 19; prose accents §. 20; metrical §. 20a.

Accusative ending: is *m* §. 86; when retained §. 148.

Adjective: its position and comparison §. 147.

Adverbs: §. 142.

Affixes: petrifications §. 80.

Aleph: its consonantal power and elision §. 36; prosthetic §. 30.

Aphaeresis: of *n*, *l*, and *h* §. 35.

Arabic: first member of the Semitic family §. 1; more ancient than the Hebrew §. 4.

Aramaisms: in Hebrew §. 7; Aramaic edicts §. 8.

Archaisms: of the Pentateuch §. 6.

Athnach: §. 20.

**BEGAD KEPHATH**: §. 13; aspiration §. 24.

**COHORTATIVE**: form §. 114; where it occurs §. 115; syntax §. 153.

**CONJUGATION**: forms of the kal §. 110; irregularities §. 123.

**CONSONANTS**: Bickell's transcription §. 13; origin of their doubling, euphonic §. 26. when it ceases §. 27.

**CONTINUATIVES**: §. 22.

**CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS**: §. 10. and note.

**CORRECTIONS**: p. 140.

**DAGESH**: lene and forte §. 13; *implicitum* §. 28; resh with dagesh p. 29 note.

**DECLENSION**: manner §. 85; unusual forms §. 107.

**DENTALS**: classification §. 22.

**DIPHTHONGS**: none in Hebrew §. 50.

**ETHPAEL**: §. 7.

**EUPHONIC DOUBLING**: §. 100.

**EXPLOSIVES**: §. 22.

**FEMININE AFFIX**: *ta* §. 92; plural §. 93; dual §. 94.

**FUTURE**: formation §. 112, 114; niph'al §. 117; piel §. 118; pual §. 119; hiph'il §. 120; hoph'al §. 121; of quadriliterals

§. 122; *primae gutt.* §. 123; *primae aleph* §. 124; *mediae gutt.* 125; *tertiæ gutt.* §. 126—127; *primae nun* §. 128; *mediae geminatae* §. 129—131; *primae vav* §. 133; *primae yod* §. 134; *mediae vav* §. 135; *mediae yod* §. 136; *tertiæ vav* §. 137—138.

**GENITIVE:** ending *i* §. 88; relation, how indicated §. 146.

**GUNA:** explained §. 42<sup>1</sup>, and p. 140.

**HALF VOWEL:** inserted between a guttural and a consonant §. 55, becomes a full vowel when followed by another half vowel §. 56.

**HEBREW:** third member of the Semitic family §. 1; has a more ancient literature than either of its sisters, golden age, decline §. 7; origin of new Hebrew §. 8; grammatical treatment §. 9; case-endings almost lost §. 95.

**HEIGHTENING:** origin §. 32; examples §. 39, 40, 42; pausal §. 21; in an open pretonic syllable §. 47, 48, 98; in a closed tone syllable §. 47, 4a; in an accented syllable §. 49d; termed *Guna* p. 140.

**HIEROGLYPHICS:** §. 9 and note.

**HIIPHIL:** §. 120; of verbs *mediae geminatae* §. 131; of verbs *primae vav* §. 133; of verbs *primae yod* §. 134; of verbs *mediae vav* p. 100.

**HITHPAEL:** formation §. 119;

transposition of the tav §. 25; assimilation §. 26, 3; in verbs *mediae gutt.* p. 94; in the *mediae geminatae* §. 132; in the *primae vav* §. 133; in the *mediae vav* p. 100.

**HOPHAL:** §. 121; in verbs *mediae geminatae* §. 131; in the *primae vav* §. 133; in the *mediae vav* p. 100; in the *tertiæ vav* §. 138.

**IMPERATIVE:** formation §. 68, 112, 113; of the niph'al §. 117; of the piel §. 118; of the hithpael §. 119; of the hiphil §. 120; kal of the *mediae gutt.* §. 125; of the *tertiæ aleph* §. 127; kal of the *primae nun* §. 128; of the *mediae geminatae* p. 96, niph'al §. 130, hiphil §. 131; of the *primae vav* §. 133; of the *mediae vav* §. 135; of the *mediae yod* §. 136; of the *tertiæ vav* §. 137.

**INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE and CONSTRUCT:** formation §. 67, 116; of the niph'al §. 117; of the piel §. 118; of the pual §. 119; of the hiphil §. 120; in the *mediae gutt.* §. 125; in the *tertiæ gutt.* §. 126; in the *primae nun* §. 128; in the *mediae gem.* p. 96, niph'al §. 130; hiphil §. 131; in the *primae vav* §. 133; in the *mediae vav* §. 135; in the *mediae yod* §. 136; in the *tertiæ vav* §. 137; syntax of the infin. absol. §. 154.

**INTERNAL INFLECTION:** p. 2 note 1.  
**INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES:** §. 155.  
**ISOLATION, agglutination, and inflection common to all languages** p. 2 note 2.  
**JEWES:** their writing §. 12.  
**JUSSIVE:** form §. 114; where found §. 115, 153; of the hiphil §. 120; of the hiphil *primae vav* §. 133; of the *tertiæ vav* §. 137, niphil §. 138.  
**LABIALS:** classification §. 22.  
**LETTERS:** origin §. 10.  
**MAKKEPH:** its use §. 19.  
**MAPPIK:** described §. 13.  
**METHEG:** use §. 16, p. 16.  
**MISHNA, MIDRASHIM:** their language §. 8.  
**MONOSYLLABIC NOUNS:** §. 72.  
**NIPHAL:** formation and signification §. 117; of the *primæ gutt.* §. 123; of the *tertiæ gutt.* §. 126; of the verbs *mediæ geminatae* §. 130; of the *primæ vav* §. 133; of the *mediæ vav* §. 135; of the *tertiæ vav* §. 138.  
**NUMERALS:** names and formation §. 108; syntax §. 150.  
**OLD CASE-ENDINGS:** accusative *a* §. 86; nominative *u* §. 87; genitive *i* §. 88.  
**ORDINALS:** formation §. 109.

**PALATALS:** classification §. 22.  
**PARADIGMS:** of the regular verb pp. 115—120.  
**PARTICIPLES:** active §. 66; passive §. 67; active and passive kal §. 116; niphil §. 117; piel §. 118; pual and hithpaël §. 119; hiphil §. 120; hophal §. 121; of quadrilaterals §. 122; of the *mediæ geminatae* §. 129 and niphil §. 130; of the *tertiæ vav* §. 137 end.  
**PARTICLES:** inflection §. 142—145.  
**PATRONYMS:** formation §. 81.  
**PERSONAL PRONOUNS:** inflection §. 82.  
**PHOENICIANS:** use of their characters §. 11.  
**PIEL:** fundamental form and signification §. 74; 118; of the *mediæ gutt.* §. 125; of the *tertiæ gutt.* §. 126; of the *mediæ geminatae*, poel or pilpel §. 132; palel of the *mediæ vav* §. 135; of the *tertiæ vav* §. 138.  
**PILPEL:** formation §. 73.  
**PLURAL:** indicated §. 85; indefinite nominative plural §. 89; of the noun §. 90; of the fem. §. 93; of the numerals §. 108; of the verb §. 110; in the future §. 114; of the pronouns §. 82, 83; of the suffixes §. 139.  
**POETRY:** distinguished from prose §. 5.  
**PREFIXES:** *ha, hin (na), hit* §. 75—77; *ma* §. 78; *ya* and *ta* §. 79.

- PREPOSITIONS:** with suffixes §. 144, 145.
- PRONOUNS:** only remnants of original radices §. 60; relative §. 84, 149; interrogative and indefinite §. 84.
- PROVINCIAL DIALECTS:** Böttcher's theory not established §. 5.
- PUAL:** See §. 119 and the sections given under the piel.
- QADRILITERALS:** origin §. 60; conjugation after the analogy of the piel §. 122.
- RAPHE:** its original sign §. 15; present form §. 13.
- READING EXERCISES:** pp. 112—114.
- REDUPLICATION:** forms §. 73.
- RELATIONSHIP:** of the Semitic, Indo-Germanic and Egyptian §. 3.
- SCRIPTIO PLENA:** defined §. 14.
- SEMITIC CHARACTERS:** not invented by the Phoenicians §. 10; square characters §. 12.
- SEPARATIVES:** classified §. 19, 20.
- SIBILANTS:** number §. 22; origin §. 23.
- SYLLABLES:** laws §. 30.
- SOPH PASUK:** function §. 20.
- STATUS ABSOLUTUS:** distinction between it and the constructus §. 95, 96.
- STEMS:** *qatta*, *qitla*, *qutla* §. 62, 68, 70; *qtala*, *qitla*, *qtula* §. 62, 68, 69; *qatala*, *qitala*, *qutalu* §. 69, 71.
- SUFFIXES:** indicating the genitive of the personal pronouns §. 103; with nouns §. 104; with change of vowels §. 105; with the verb §. 139; with the future §. 140; with the verbs *mediae geminatae* §. 141; with prepositions §. 144.
- TENSES:** how used §. 151.
- THE PURE STEM:** of the noun §. 86.
- TRILITERALS:** oldest form of the stem *qatala* §. 63.
- VAV CONSECUTIVUM:** its power §. 111, 152.
- VERBS:** *primae aleph* §. 124; *mediae gutt.* §. 125; *tertiarum gutt.* §. 126; *tertiarum aleph* §. 127; *primae nun* §. 128; *mediae geminatae* §. 129—132; *primae rav* §. 133; *primae yod* §. 134 and *mediae rav* §. 135; *mediae yod* §. 136; *tertiarum rav* §. 137.
- VOLATILIZATION:** See §. 39; the examples in §. 43; volatilization of *a* §. 47, 3; of *i* §. 48c; of *u* §. 43b, 49c; in an open pretonic syllable §. 98.
- VOWEL CONSONANTS:** *r*, *y* subject through permutation, vocalization and elision to many changes §. 31, 32, 33; cases in which they retain their consonantal character §. 34.
- VOWELLESS CHARACTER:** of the Semitic letters §. 14.



VOWELS: Bickell's transcription §. 17; changes for the sake of dissimilarity §. 29; only three in primitive Semitic §. 37; shortening of a long vowel which was in an originally closed syllable §. 38; classification §. 39; when originally long they are unchangeable §. 40; cases where the short vowels remain unchanged §. 41, are heightened

§. 42, are volatilized §. 43; union of two half vowels §. 44; rules for vocal changes §. 47—49, before suffixes §. 105; auxiliary vowels §. 52; elision scarcely ever occurs except at the end of a word §. 59.

UNITIVES: conjunctives or servants §. 19 and 20 note B.

### 3. HEBREW WORDS.

The numbers in this index refer to the sections. Hypothetical forms are indicated with a star.

אב	37. 72. 95. 107.	אחר	144.
אבד	124.	אחרק	144.
אבלה	37.	אחת	108.
אבה	124.	אי	143.
אבות	107.	אי	143.
אבי	37. 72. 95. 107.	אנב	32.
אדיריהם	41.	אנה	143.
אהבה	112.	אול	70.
אהבך	105.	אילים	70.
אויב	105.	אין	143.
איבך	105.	אין	143.
איתי	144.	איו	143.
אזור	67. 96.	איפה	143.
אזכרה	75.	אים	143.
אזלע	30. 75.	איננה	143.
אה	72. 95. 107.	אינך	143.
אקר	108.	איני	142.
אחד	108.	איש	92. 107.
אחות	107.	אבל	124.
אחו	124.	אכל	54.
אחי	72. 95. 107.	אבלה	92.
אחי	107.	אבלה	92.
אחיו	29. 107.	אבלה	92.
אחיות*	107.	אל	5. 144.
אחיד	107.	אליה	83.
אחים	107.	אלוה	53. 54. 67.

אֵלִי 5. 57. 144.  
 אֵלִי 144.  
 אֵלֶיךָ 144.  
 אֵלֶיהֶם 144.  
 אֵלֶיכֶם 57.  
 אֵלֶף 108.  
 אֵלֶפֶס 108.  
 אֵמֶר 124.  
 אֵמֵר 36. 124.  
 אֵמִרְתֶּם 123.  
 אֵמַת 92.  
 אֵמַתוֹ 92.  
 אֵנוּ 82.  
 אֵנִי 82.  
 אֵנִי 82.  
 אֵנַחְנוּ 35. 82.  
 אֵלֶכֶּי 42. 82.  
 אֵלֶשִׁים 107.  
 אֵלֶשִׁי 107.  
 אֵסֹר 67.  
 אֵסִיר 67.  
 אֵסֶף 123.  
 אֵסֵר 100.  
 אֵף 27. 69.  
 אֵפוֹ 27.  
 אֵפֶה 124.  
 אֵצִיב 75.  
 אֵרִבֵּעַ 75. 108.  
 אֵרִבְעָה 108.  
 אֵרִבְעִים 108.  
 אֵרִבְעַת 108.  
 אֵרֶץ 52.  
 אֵרְקֵא 22.  
 אֵשָׁה 107.  
 אֵשָׁה 81.

אֵשֶׁר 84.  
 אֵשֶׁת 92. 107.  
 אֵשְׁתוֹ 107.  
 אֵשְׁתֶּךָ (usually אֵשְׁתְּךָ) 107.  
 אֵת 7.  
 אֵת 82.  
 אֵת 77. 144.  
 אֵת־ 49. 77. 144.  
 אֵתָה 82.  
 אֵתִי 82.  
 בֵּאֵר 69. 99.  
 בֵּאֵר 107.  
 בֵּאֵרוֹת 99.  
 בֵּאֵרוֹת 99.  
 בֵּקֶם 35.  
 בּוֹשֵׁ 32. 50. 64. 135.  
 בּוֹשָׁה 135.  
 בִּיהוּדָה 33.  
 בִּין 136.  
 בִּינָה p. 17. top.  
 בִּית 34. 45. 50. 69.  
 107.  
 בִּית 33. 34. 50. 69.  
 בִּיתָה יוֹסֵף 86.  
 בָּם 35. 42.<sup>2</sup>  
 בָּן 136.  
 בָּן 72. 107.  
 בָּן־ בָּן־ 107.  
 בָּנוּ 87. 107.  
 בָּנוֹת 107.  
 בָּנוֹת 107.  
 בָּנִי 107.  
 בָּנִים 107.  
 בְּנִי־שֵׁחַץ 5.

- בְּנֵי 107.  
 בְּנֵלֵל 44. 112.  
 בְּעַד 144.  
 בְּעַר 28.  
 בַּעַשׂ 7.  
 בַּקְּשָׁה 7.  
 בְּרוּךְ 74.  
 בְּרַחַח 52.  
 בְּרִיךְ (usually בְּרַךְ) 28.  
 בְּרִכּוֹת 44. [125.  
 בְּרִפְת 59.  
 בְּרִבְקָתָם 41.  
 בְּרִכְבְּתָם\* 41.  
 בַּח 46. 72. 107.  
 בַּהוֹ 107.  
 בַּחֵי 46.  
 בַּחַיִּים 107.  
 בְּבוֹר 74.  
 בְּבִיר 67.  
 בְּבַר 21. 69.  
 בְּבַר 21.  
 בְּבַר 69.  
 בְּבַר 69.  
 בְּבַר\* 69.  
 בְּבַר 70.  
 בַּר 34.  
 בַּר\* 34.  
 בַּר\* 34.  
 בַּר 34.  
 בְּלִגְל 132.  
 בְּלִה 32. 137.  
 בְּלִה 32. 67. 137.  
 בְּלוּ 32. 137.  
 בְּלוּ 33. 137.  
 בְּלוֹת 32. 137.  
 בְּלוּי 33. 34. 137.  
 בְּלִיקָה 33. 50. 137.  
 בְּלִית 33. 137.  
 בְּלִיךְ 32.  
 בְּלִתָּה 137.  
 בְּמַלְאִים 26. 100.  
 בְּמַלְאִי 26.  
 בְּנַב 74.  
 בְּנַב 74.  
 בְּנַבְתֵּי יוֹם 6.  
 בְּנֵת 128.  
 בְּשׂ 35. 128.  
 בְּשָׁת 35. 128.  
 בְּיָבַר 42.  
 בְּיָבַר 42.  
 בְּיָבַר 74.  
 בְּיָבַר 74.  
 בְּיָבַר 43.  
 בְּיָבַר 43.  
 בְּיָבַר 44. 46. 97.  
 בְּיָבַר 44.  
 בְּיָבַר 105.  
 בְּיָבַר 72.  
 בְּיָבַר 66.  
 בְּיָבַר 32. 40.  
 בְּיָבַר 69.  
 בְּיָבַר 72.  
 בְּיָבַר 32.  
 בְּיָבַר 69.  
 בְּיָבַר 7.  
 בְּיָבַר 6. 83.  
 בְּיָבַר 6.

- הָאֱלֹהִים 29.  
 הָאֱרֶץ 28.  
 הַבּוֹז 130.  
 הַבֵּן 33.  
 הַבְּנוּיָה 86.  
 הַגִּישׁ 128.  
 הַגְּלָה 138.  
 הַגְּלוּת 138.  
 הַגֵּשׁ 128.  
 הַחֶפֶז 26.  
 הַחֹמָה 28.  
 הַחֶרֶד 28. 29.  
 הַחֲרִיבִים 29.  
 הוּא 6. 82.  
 הוֹלִיד 50.  
 הוֹלִיף 133.  
 הוֹסֵב 131.  
 הוֹשִׁיב 133.  
 הוֹשֵׁב 33. 133.  
 הַחֲדָשׁ 28.  
 הַחֲקָשִׁים 29.  
 הַחֲזוֹן 29.  
 הַחִיּוֹת 101.  
 הַחֲסִיר 123.  
 הַחֲרָם 55.  
 הַחֲרָה 26.  
 הוּא 82.  
 הִגָּה 54.  
 הוֹשִׁיב 33. 50.  
 הוֹכֵל 75.  
 הוֹלִיל 134.  
 הַחֲקוּם 33. 135.  
 הַכְּשִׁיל 75.  
 הַלּוֹף 67.  
 הִלָּז 6. 83.
- הִלָּזָה 6. 83.  
 הִלָּזוּ 83.  
 הֵם 82.  
 הִפְיָה 82.  
 הִמְשֵׁט 58.  
 הִמְשִׁיחַ 76.  
 הִנָּה 82.  
 הִנָּה 7.  
 הִנָּחֵם 76.  
 הִסֵּב 27. 131.  
 הִסֵּב 131.  
 הִסֵּב\* 130.  
 הִסְבּוֹתָ 27. 131.  
 הִסְחַפֵּל 25.  
 הִסְחִיב 132.  
 הִשָּׁן 29.  
 הִשָּׁן 28.  
 הִשָּׁם 29.  
 הִשְׁמִיד 123.  
 הִשְׁמִדָה 123.  
 הִשְׁמִדָתִי 57.  
 הִשְׁמִיר 55. 123.  
 הִשָּׁלָה 75.  
 הִצְטַחֵק 25.  
 הִקְטִיל 2.<sup>1</sup>  
 הִקְפָּה 75.  
 הִקְפָּה 75.  
 הִשְׁמָאוּל 122.  
 הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה 25.  
 הִשְׁלִיחַ 126.  
 הִשְׁמִיד 75.  
 הִשְׁמִיר 75.  
 הִשְׁתַּמֵּר 25.  
 הִתְגַּלְּגַל 132.  
 הִתְחַבֵּט 31.

- הַתְּנַלְד 31.  
 הַתְּמַדְהִמִּשָּׁה 77.  
 הַתְּנַבֵּר 77.  
 וְאִמְרָה 42.  
 וְהִוְיָהֶם לִי p. 17.  
 וְהִשְׁמַדְתָּהּ 123.  
 וְהִשְׁמַדְתָּי 57.  
 וְר 31.  
 וַיֹּאכֵל 124.  
 וַיֹּאמֶר 124.  
 וַיִּבְרָךְ 30.  
 וַיִּבְרָךְ 38.  
 וַיִּגַּל 52.  
 וַיִּקְּמַל 21.  
 וַיִּקְּמַל 21.  
 וַיִּנְבֵּר 27.  
 וַיְהִי 33.  
 וַיְהִי 27.  
 וַיִּצָּר 134.  
 וַיִּדְבָּרָהּ 111.  
 וַיִּלְךָ 21.  
 וַיִּלְךָ 21.  
 וַיַּעַל 45.  
 וַיִּקְטַב 131.  
 וַיִּסֵּר 53.  
 וַיִּצֹו 27.  
 וַיִּקָּם 21. 38. 46.  
 וַיִּקָּם 21.  
 וַיִּרְא 53.  
 וַיִּרְב 52.  
 וַיִּרְב 52.  
 וַיִּדְדָּךְ 30.  
 וַיִּשְׁתָּק 30.  
 וַקָּטְנָהּ\* 111.
- וְאֵב 23.  
 וְאֵח 83.  
 זְבַחֹו 97.  
 זָה 83.  
 זֶה 83.  
 זֶה 83.  
 זֶו 34.  
 זֵרַח 52.  
 זְמָנִים 100.  
 זְרוּעַ 30.  
 זָרַע 21.  
 זָרַע 21. 52.  
 זָמַן 42. 71. 99.  
 זָמַן 71. 99.
- חֶבְלֵי 97.  
 חֶבְלֵי 97.  
 חֲנֻה 23.  
 חֲזָה 66. 95. 106.  
 חֲזָה 95. 101.  
 חֲזָה 101.  
 חֲזָהֶו 101.  
 חֲזוּה 101.  
 חֲזִי 101.  
 חֲזִיק\* 101.  
 חֲזִית 101.  
 חֲזִים 101.  
 חֲזִץ 69.  
 חֲזוּצוֹה 70.  
 חֲזִיוֹן 41. 100.  
 חֲזִיוֹן 41. 100.  
 חֲשָׂאת 92.  
 חִי 34.  
 חִי 34.

חָזָה 34.  
 חֵיל 70. 107.  
 חֲזָלִים 70. 107.  
 חִינּוֹא 93.  
 חִינּוֹן 93.  
 חִיחֹ 87. 92.  
 חִיחֹ-אֶרֶץ 6.  
 חָבֵם 63. 96.  
 חֲבָמָה 96.  
 חֲבָמוֹת 96.  
 חֲבָמוֹת 96.  
 חֲבָמִי 96.  
 חֲבָמִים\* 96.  
 חֲבָמַת 96.  
 חָלִי 21. 43. 54. 69.  
 חֲלִי 21. 69.  
 חֲלָיִים 70.  
 חָם 23. 95. 107.  
 חָמִי 95. 107.  
 חֲמָלָה 112.  
 חָמֶשׁ 108.  
 חֲמִשָּׁה 108.  
 חֲמִשָּׁה 92. 108.  
 חָזָם 86.  
 חָמוֹן 74.  
 חָפְצִי 46.  
 חָצִי 43. 69.  
 חָצִי 69.  
 חֲצֹרֹתַי 105.  
 חֲצֹרֹתַי 105.  
 חֹק 69.  
 חָקִים 70.  
 טָהַר 28  
 טָמֵא 127.

טָמֵאָה 127.  
 וְאֵחָז 124.  
 וְאֵחָז 124.  
 וְאֵכֶל 36. 124.  
 וְאֵמֶר 36. 124.  
 וְאֵמֶר 123.  
 וְאֵטֶר 57. 123.  
 וְאֵטֶרֶי 123.  
 וְאֵטֶרֶוּהוּ 57. 123.  
 קָבֹא 32.  
 קָבוֹשׁ 32. 47<sup>I</sup>. 135.  
 קָבִין 33.  
 קָבִין 38. 136.  
 קָבִין 45.  
 קָבִיר 41.  
 קָבִל p. 17. 137.  
 קָבִל 45. 138.  
 קָבִלָה 138.  
 קָבִלָה 32. 42.  
 קָבִלָה 32.  
 קָבִר 116.  
 קָבִשׁ 128.  
 קָרַ 72.  
 קָרוֹשׁ 53.  
 קָדָם 47<sup>I</sup>.  
 קָדֵל 129.  
 קָדֵוֹן 89.  
 קָהִי 52.  
 קָהֶה 123.  
 קָהֶכֶה 56.  
 קָיָבֶל 33.  
 קָיָם 86.  
 קָיָשׁ 34.  
 קָיָשׁ 31. 133.

יִזְקֶה	53.	יַעֲמֹד	45.
יַחֲבֹשׁ	47 <sup>I</sup> .	יַעֲמֹדֶי	123.
יַחֲבֹשׁ	pausal 53.	יַעֲמֹדֶי	55. 123.
יַחֲדֶה	55. <sup>1</sup>	יַפֵּל	26. 128.
יַחֲזִיחַ	53. 123.	יַצֵּה	27.
יַחֲזֹק	45. 123.	יַצְהַר	79.
יַחֲזֹקֵי	56. 123.	יַצֵּק	26.
יַחֲזֹקֵי	56.	יַצַּר	134.
יַחֲיֶה	123.	יַקוּם	38. 135.
יַחֲפֹם	123.	יַקוּם	32.
יַחֲסִיר	123.	יַקַּח	128.
יַחֲשֹב	55.	יַקוּם	31.
יַחֲשֹב	55.	יַקְטִיל	35.
יַחֲשֹבוּ	56.	יַקְטִילוּ	21. 43.
יַיִטֵב	33.	יַקְטִילוּ	21.
יַיִרֹשׁ	31. 133.	יַקָּם	38.
יַיַצֵר	134.	יַקְוֶה	134.
יַטֵב	134.	יַרְאֶה	53.
יַכְבֵּד	114.	יַרְבֵּ	45.
יַפּוֹן	32.	יַרְבֵּ*	45.
יַכֵּל	33.	יַרְחַח	69.
יַכְרִסֵם	122.	יַשֵּׁ	143.
יַלֵד	31.	יַשֵּׁ	143.
יַלֵל	134.	יַשְׁנֹה	143.
יַלְקִיט	79.	יַשֵּׁב	34.
יַם	69. 96. <sup>3</sup>	יַשֵּׁב	32.
יַמָּה	86.	יַשְׁחַט	125.
יַמִּיר	43. 107.	יַשְׁלַח	53. 126.
יַנְחֵל	26.	יַשְׁמֹר	68.
יַנַּק	134.	יַשְׁוֶן	116.
יַסֵּב	68. 129.	יַתֵּן	128.
יַסֵּב	68.	יַתְרוֹן	80.
יַסֵּבוּ	26.		
יַשְׁלַח	45.	יַבְבֵּד	42. 110.
		יַבְבְּדָה	21.



- פְּבֻדָּה 21.  
 פְּבֻדוֹ 110.  
 פְּבֻדֵי 110.  
 פְּבוֹד 67.  
 פִּי 7.  
 פּוֹל 73.  
 פְּקוּשׁ \* 29.  
 פֶּל 27.  
 פֶּלֶר 27.  
 פֶּלֶז 27.  
 פְּלוֹם 107.  
 פְּלוֹי 107.  
 פְּלֻפֶּל 73.  
 פְּלֻפֶּל 2. 73.  
 פְּלֻפֶּל 73.  
 פְּנִינָן 80.  
 פְּרִיסָם 122.  
 פְּשֵׁי־דִרְבָּנָה 86.  
 פְּתָב 40. 67. 98.  
 פְּתָהָ 71. 99.  
 פְּתָהָ 99.  
 לְאֵכָל 58. 112.<sup>3</sup>  
 לְאֵמֹר 124.  
 לְאָרִי 58.  
 לְבָב 42. 65.  
 לְבוּשׁ 67.  
 לְהֵלֵךְ 112.<sup>3</sup>  
 לְוָדָן 80. 92.  
 לְחִי 21.  
 לְחִי 21.  
 לְחָלִי 58.  
 לְחַתָּם 53. 112.  
 לְיָלֵהָ p. 17. 142.  
 לֵךְ 35. 133.  
 לָכֵת 35. 133.  
 לָבוֹז 145.  
 לְמִינְהוּ 6.  
 לְמִלְכָּךְ 35.  
 לְנַפֵּל 59. 112.  
 לְפָרִי 58.  
 מְאֵתָרָם 36.  
 מְנַבְרָר 78.  
 מְנַדְבָר 78.  
 מְנַדְבָרָה 86.  
 מְנַבְרָךְ 78.  
 מְנַדְע 7.  
 מְנַדִּין 91.  
 מְנָה 84.  
 מְנָה נָה 26.  
 מְנַדְעָה 92.  
 מְנַדְעָר 105.  
 מְנַדְעָר 105.  
 מְנַדְעָרִים 98.  
 מְנַתָּה 34. 41. 50. 52. 69.  
 מְנַתָּה 33. 34. 50. 67.  
 מְנַתָּה 73.  
 מְנַזְבָּח 78.  
 מְנַחְמֵד 78.  
 מְנַחְמֵד 78.  
 מְנַחְמֵד 84.  
 מְנַחְמֵד 84.  
 מְנַחְמֵד 21. 91.  
 מְנַחְמֵד 21.  
 מְנַחְמֵדִים 34.  
 מְנַחְמֵדִים 78.  
 מְנַחְמֵדִים 122.  
 מְנַחְמֵדִים 78.  
 מְנַחְמֵדִים 41.  
 מְנַחְמֵדִים 99.

- מְלָכוֹ 113.  
 מְלָפָה 69.  
 מְלָכוֹת 81. 102.  
 מְלָכִיּוֹת 81. 102.  
 מְלָכִים 70. 99.  
 מְלָכִי 70. 99.  
 מְלָפָת 93.<sup>2</sup>  
 מְלָפָה 96.<sup>2</sup>  
 מְלָפוֹ 69. 99.  
 מְלָפָן 93.<sup>1</sup> 114.<sup>1</sup>  
 מְלָקָה 96.<sup>2</sup>  
 מְמוֹתָת 78.  
 מִסָּב 131.  
 מְעִינֹ 87.  
 מְעָלָה 142.  
 מְצָא 127.  
 מְקוֹם 32.  
 מֵר 129.  
 מְשָׁל 42.  
 מְשָׁלַח 53. 126.  
 מְשָׁם 26.  
 מְשֻׁמְמִים 100.  
 מֵת 50. 135.  
 מְתַמְּדָה מֵשֶׁה 78.  
 מְתוֹק 40.  
 מְתוֹקָה 40.  
 מְתַבְּלָד 78.  
  
 מְצַץ 28.  
 מְבוֹן 32.  
 מְבַרֵךְ 76.  
 מְגַל 130.  
 מְגַלָּה 138.  
 מְגַלִּיָּה 138.  
 מְגַלִּיָּה 138.  
  
 מְגַשֵּׁת 128.  
 מְהַפְּיֵךְ 123.  
 מוֹלָד 50.  
 מוֹרֵשׁ 133.  
 מוֹשֵׁב 33.  
 מְחוּשׁ 92.  
 מְחַל 45. 52. 69.  
 מְחַנו 82.  
 מְחַשֵּׁת 40. 92.  
 מְחַשְׁתָּן 40.  
 מְחַשְׁתִּים 92.  
 מְחַטֵּעַ 126.<sup>1</sup>  
 מְמַס 130.  
 מְסָב 130.  
 מְסַבּוֹת \* 130.  
 מְסַבּוֹתָם \* 130.  
 מְעַמֵּד 123.  
 מְעַמְּדוֹ 123. comp. p. 1  
 מְעַר 6.  
 מְעַרָּה 6.  
 מְעַרֵּוֹ 45. 55.  
 מְעַרְקָם 45. 56.  
 מְעַרְץ 76.  
 מְצַח 52. 69.  
 מְקוֹם \* 32. 40.  
 מְקוֹמוֹת \* 40. 135.  
 מְקַי 33. 67.  
 מְקַיִים 48.  
 מְקַל 130.  
 מְקַל 130.  
 מְשַׁלְּחָה p. 17.  
 מְשִׁים 107.  
 מְתֵן 6.  
 מְתַף 26.

סב\* 26. 129.  
 סב 129.  
 סבה 129.  
 סבו 42. 129.  
 סובב 74. 132.  
 סובב\* 74. 132.  
 סוס 86. 87.  
 סוסה 92.  
 סוסי 33. 90.  
 סוסי 90. 104.  
 סוסיקם 42<sup>2</sup>.  
 סוסיקה 93.  
 סוסותים\* 94.  
 סתרה 73.  
 סלם 80.  
 סגורים 75.  
 ספר p. 17. 42. 52. 69.  
 ספרו 46. 69.  
 ספרי 70.  
 ספרים 70.  
 סר 40.  
 עבדכם 37.  
 עברי 34. 81. 102.  
 עברה 102.  
 עבריות 102.  
 עבריים 34. 81. 102.  
 עברים 34. 102.  
 עגלו 97.  
 עגלי 97.  
 עולה 34.  
 עולם 66.  
 עגר 74.  
 עזבי 88.  
 עזה 23.

עזרה 92.  
 עיר 31. 107.  
 על 5. 144.  
 עלי 34.  
 עלי 144.  
 עם 96.  
 עם 96.  
 עם 144.  
 עמוד 54.  
 עמי 144.  
 עמדי 144.  
 עמקם 144.  
 עמלק 23.  
 עמק 100.  
 עמקה 100.  
 עממת 100.  
 עני 21.  
 עני 21.  
 ערים 107.  
 ערי 107.  
 עץ 72.  
 עשה 6.  
 עשה לו p. 17.  
 עשוי 32.  
 עשו 33.  
 עשוי 67.  
 עשות 6.  
 עשר 108.  
 עשהה 32.  
 עשה 32. 38.  
 פדיום 80.  
 פדיון 80.  
 פה 72. 95. 107.  
 פי 72. 103. 104.

- פִּיהוּ 104.  
 פִּיר 104.  
 פִּיךָ 104.  
 פִּיךָ 104.  
 פִּעַל 52.  
 פִּעְלִי 45. 55.  
 פִּעְלֵךְ 56.  
 פִּעְלֵכֶם 45.  
 פִּרְי 52. 103.  
 פִּרְשׁ 99.  
 פִּרַח 98.  
 פִּרְי 23.  
 פִּדְיוֹן 40.  
 פִּחַק 6.  
 פִּקֹּשׁ 42. 52. 69.  
 פִּקְשׁוּ 69. 97.  
 פִּקְשֵׁי 46. 97.  
 פִּקְשִׁים 70.  
 פִּקְעַל 37.<sup>1</sup> 40. 92. 105.  
 פִּקְעִי 105.  
 פִּקְעֵלְתָּ 52. 92.  
 פִּחַ 35. 128.  
 פִּחַח 35. 128.  
 פִּקַּעַל 2.<sup>1</sup> 21. 42. 110.  
 פִּקַּעַל 21.  
 פִּקַּעַל 30. 113.  
 פִּקַּעַל 2.<sup>1</sup> 46.  
 פִּקְעֵלְתָּ 21. 44.  
 פִּקְעֵלְתָּ 21.  
 פִּקְעֵלוֹ 42. 43.  
 פִּקְעֵלוֹ 49.  
 פִּקְעֵלְךָ 105.  
 פִּקְעֵלוֹ 112.  
 קָטַל 43.  
 קָטַלְתִּי 37. 45.  
 קָטַלְתָּ 42.  
 קָטַנְךָ 42. 64. 110.  
 קָטַנְם 34.  
 קָטַנְם 31.  
 קָטַנְתָּ 37. 74.  
 קָטַנְתֶּם 38. 40. 63.  
 קָטַנְתָּ 38.  
 קָרַב 64.  
 קָרַבְתָּ 112.  
 קָרַבְתֶּם 80.  
 קָטַלְתִּים 43.  
 קָרַא 6.  
 קָרַאת 67.  
 קָרַאת 6.  
 קָרַאשׁ 107.  
 קָרַאשׁוֹן 109.  
 קָרַאשִׁים 36. 107.  
 קָרַאשִׁית 81.  
 קָרַע 126.<sup>1</sup>  
 קָרַח 32.<sup>2</sup>  
 קָרַח 32.<sup>2</sup>  
 קָרַח 53.  
 קָרַח 73.  
 קָרַח 36.  
 קָרַח 72.  
 קָרַח 67.  
 קָרַח 6.  
 קָרַח 96.  
 קָרַח 96.  
 קָרַח 112.

- תִּמְנָה 73.  
 תִּמְנָ 32.  
 תִּמְנִי 69. 92.  
 תִּמְנִיָּה 69.  
 תִּמְנִית 69. 92.  
 תִּמְנֵעַ 108.  
 תִּמְנֵחַ 32.  
 תִּמְנֵי 50. 81.  
 תִּמְר 23.  
 תִּמְחַט 125.  
 תִּמְחַטוּ 54. 125.  
 תִּמְחַטִּי 125.  
 תִּמְחַח 92.  
 תִּמְלֵה 37.<sup>2</sup> 80.  
 תִּמְלִיָּה 37.<sup>2</sup> 80.  
 תִּמְלִישָׁא 109.  
 תִּמְיָרוּם 70.  
 תִּמְכַב 68. 99. 112.  
 תִּמְלִיָּב 75.  
 תִּמְלִוֶּשׁ 40. 108.  
 תִּמְלִוֶּת 50. 137.  
 תִּמְלִשָׁד 108.  
 תִּמְלִשׁ 108.  
 תִּמְלִח 53. 74.  
 תִּמְלִח 74. 126.  
 תִּמְלִחָךְ 59.<sup>1</sup>  
 תִּמְלִשׁוּ 86.  
 תִּמְלִשָׁר 40. 108.  
 תִּמְלִשׁוּ 105.  
 תִּמְלוֹר 43.  
 תִּמְמָךְ 44. 105.  
 תִּמְמִינ 91.  
 תִּמְמִנָה 108.  
 תִּמְמֵת 45. 66.  
 תִּמְמֵר 68. 99.  
 תִּמְמֵרָה 68.  
 תִּמְמֵרוֹ 99.  
 תִּמְמֵרָךְ 99.  
 תִּמְמֵרָם 108.  
 תִּמְמֵעַ 126.<sup>1</sup>  
 תִּמְמֵשׁעַ 132.  
 תִּמְמֵזֶן 74.  
 תִּמְמֵשׁ 108.  
 תִּמְמֵרָם 30. 108.  
 תִּמְמֵלָה 33. 50.  
 תִּמְמֵמֹל \* 79.  
 תִּמְמֵמֹלוֹךְךָ 89.  
 תִּמְמֵמֹר 79.  
 תִּמְמֵמֹרֵיךְ 89.  
 תִּמְמֵה 52. 69.  
 תִּמְמֵה 79.  
 תִּמְמֵת 144.  
 תִּמְמֵתִיךְ 144.  
 תִּמְמֵתִיָּה 144.  
 תִּמְמֵלֶן 21.  
 תִּמְמֵמֵאָה 36.  
 תִּמְמֵן 35.  
 תִּמְמֵסֵבִי 129.  
 תִּמְמֵסֵבִיָּה 130.  
 תִּמְמֵקֵמִי 135.  
 תִּמְמֵקֵמִיָּה 135.  
 תִּמְמֵקֵמִיָּה 135.  
 תִּמְמֵקֵמִיָּה 135.  
 תִּמְמֵקֵמִיָּה 122.  
 תִּמְמֵת 6. 35. 128.  
 תִּמְמֵתָה 128.

## NOTE.

The author offers the following explanation of his meaning in § 42.<sup>1</sup>

In the Indo-Germanic languages the heightening, which is called *Guna* by the Indian grammarians, consists in prefixing *a* to an accented vowel, especially in open syllables, in order that the vowel may receive a fuller sound; hence *a*, *i*, *u* become by heightening *á*, *ai*, *au*. That the same process has taken place in modern English and German appears, when we compare modern with old or middle-high German, and written with spoken English. In both cases we find a tendency to lengthen vowels in open accented syllables, and to give the letters *i* and *u* the sound *ai* and *au* (and in English of *iu*).

## CORRECTIONS.

## PAGE

- 8, ninth line below read 'Olshausen'.  
 31, sixth line below read רָבָא *rāvā*.  
 35, fourth line above read לְבָרָא.  
 37, sixteenth line above read רִיקָם.  
 38, eighth line below read תְּזִירֶן *hě-zě-yō n*.  
 39, sixth line below read 'forms'.  
 47, eighth line above read תְּשַׁבֵּר.  
 91, tenth line below read תְּרַבְּלֵתִי.  
 112, second line below read אֶלְמָיִם.









